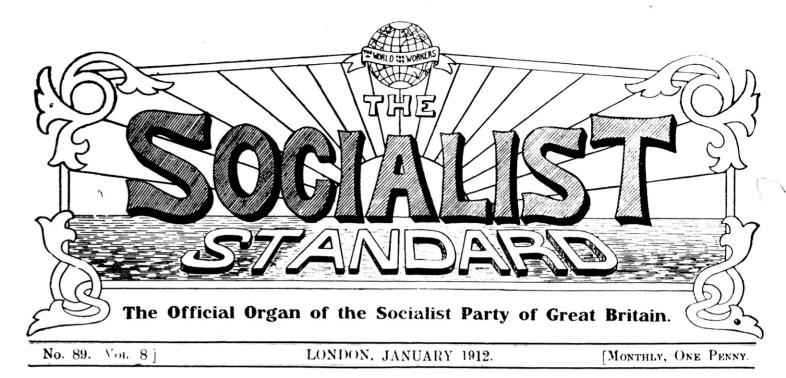
SOCIALIST STANDARD

1912



SOCIALISM AND THE SUFFRAGETTE.

A REVIEW.

"THE MAN-MADE WORLD," by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Fisher Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.

In a pitiful caricature of the male struggle for the franchise, a number of middle-class women are clamouring for the vote. There is no need to emphasize Suffragette? how largely they count on sex privilege. The hubbub they make when a "militant' happens exceptionally to be treated by public, police, or magistrate almost as though she were a man, is evidence enough. Their "glory" is as cheap as it is worthless.

But without troubling, for the nonce, about woman's privileges before man-made law, and without discussing the disappearing economic dependence on the male which is held to excuse those legal privileges; why have we a woman suffrage movement at all just now? Is it because the factory system has undermined home life? Is it because so many women have plunged into competition with men for work? These are reasons, but are they sufficient?

In entering intensely into competition with the quondam bread winner woman hurtles against the wages question. And the deadly imminence of this leads rather to economic organisation than to the seemingly more remote franchise method. Among women of the working class this is to some extent the case. As men found themselves condemned to wage-slavery all their lives, and formed organisations upon that basis, so are women forming or joining unions with similar aims.

That they do not do so more fully may in part be attributed to the impression most of them have that they will not be ordinary wage slaves all their lives. They look to an escape from the discipline and tyranny of the factory into the seeming freedom and independence of a household. Hence the wages question is not taken as seriously by women as it merits, and their unions progress slowly.
Nevertheless their advent into industrial strife

ever narrows their chances of marriage, and must force the wages question more strongly upon their notice. And whether woman with-out "encumbrance" clamours for the same wage as a man with a family dependent upon him (which he is legally compelled to keep), or whether, in the opposite case, man howls "blackleg!" when the inferior labour-power of woman in certain instances necessarily

obtains a lower wage, it is im-Movement.

economic strife within the present system. that working women as well as working men will direct their chief energy to the realisation of their one hope in Socialism by political means.

For other reasons, also, the entry of women into office, factory, and workshop, although it explains much of the change in their attitude toward the problem of life, is not sufficient to explain the suffragette. The woman suffrage movement, in the main, is not working class at all. It is a well to-do movement. Its leaders and spokeswomen are of the "leisured," as distinct from the working, class. Its coffers are filled to overflowing at a single meeting. Its adherents do not lose a livelihood and reduce a family to want by their farcical bravado and confinement. Starvation, to them, has all the charms of novelty. Self-indulged, it buys a martyr's crown, clears the blood, and whiles away the prison hours.

Obviously, such a movement is not explicable as a direct outcome of the industrial employment of women. There is question, not of workers, but of the capitalist class and its dependants Not of producers, but of parasites-indeed, of parasites upon parasites.

Just as time was when the capitalist took a band in production and proclaimed labour the source of all wealth (although he now abstains and calls his income the reward of his abstin-

ence), so time was when the wife Home Life and daughter of the capitalist inof dulged in, and took pride in, their domestic labour. But now all is changed. What is home without

a slavey? Crochet, embroidery, and old-time occupations are old fashioned and taboo. Domes tic work is "low." The care of children, and even the putting on and off of robes, is servants work and equally taboo. Consequently, where there is not a constant round of travel or social function, life becomes a purposeless bore, and r course is had to stimulants or narcotics; to the devil or to suffragism.

But that is not all. The hangers on of the capitalist class eagerly initate their "social betters." Even the so-called middle-class wife must have her domestic slave. The emptiness and idleness of her life becomes no less denior. alising. Hence the hysteria reflected in the heroines of prevalent fiction and the drama, and even in would-be politics.

There exists, therefore, an unbealthy craving for excitement and sensationalism that is partly Their interests are a reaction against the emptiest form of parasione and their tendencies simi- tism. It is not a revolt against parasitism as of women tends to premote (among the indirectness through the male, and a desire on the economic than on the political field. And attempt to get at the sources of plunderit is only in face of the insolubility of the wages | most of which, except the directly political, question as such, and the narrow limits of are, indeed, now as open to the women as to

the males of their class.

Added to this is that large body of women (who dearly love to be counted among the "upper middle class") that sometimes Votes for as a result of the foregoing, but Property. mainly from other causes, are already in business or the profes-

A type of these is the woman writer of fiction, too often specialising in a peculiar brand of morbid novel, written with deadly insight for women only, and who holds this very lucrative field to the envy of other women and the dero gation of domesticity.

The professional woman, however, partakes of, as well as helps to shape, the mentality of the class. She is in many cases nerve wracked and overwrought by the very intensity of the effort needed to compete with men. And she, too, is often found beside her sister arrogantly disputing her access to the flesh pots of political office. It is, then, from women of various sections of the capitalist class rather than from working women, that the claim to the vote, and to the opening of all political careers to well-to-do women, chiefly comes.

And the present campaign is entirely fraudulent. What is claimed is not "votes for women" at all, but votes for property irrespective of the sex of the owner. Indeed, the Suffragettes confess that the extension of the franchise to more working men is a deadly blow to them; and they proclaim themselves the of ponents of Adult Suffrage, which would include all women as well as all men. Their aim is more power to themselves as champions of property, and a seat at the thieves' table. They are anti-working class, and that is why Socialism is he stile to them.

Early in their campaign huge posters appealed to working women to help, and attributed all the ills under which the workers groan, to the fact that women who paid the taxes had not the vote.

But the humbug of it was seen. The response of the workers was practically nil. And working women as well as working men are coming to see that to allow themselves to be led by either the men or the women of the class that lives upon their degradation, is only to strengthen the bonds of servitude they already wear.

The extension of the suffrage to we men upon a property basis which must exclude the majority of working women, is certainly only a fresh obstacle in the path of Socialism. The Place And it is equally certain, to say

for all the least, that the gift of the vote to all women is by no means in dispensable to the conquest of the

lar. The industrial competition | such by any means, but a disgust with its | State by the workers. The logical place of working men and women is within the Socialist women directly concerned) a greater activity for reality and added power. It is an Party, wherein all questions of sex or suffrage are subordirate always to the greater one of the emancipation of the whole working class

But, lest I forget, this is a review. Space is

running short, but it does not greatly matter. Briefly, theauthor of "The Man Made World"

does not take up the proletarian point of view The bitter struggle for a living imposed upon the great majority of the human race is quite foreign to her femininism. Her contribution, though both superficial and amusing, differs somewhat from the usual Suffragist literature. But her book is a symptom, and it will serve.

Its central idea is that woman was the original race type, and man a sex type only. Woman is human." Man is a mere embodiment of sex who has, nevertheless, usurped dominance over humankind. And to man's domination are due the myriad-fold evils of modern life.

The idea that the male is the race type called the androcentric theory, while the belief that the female is the race type- and the male an accident- is called the gynæcocentric theory of life. I hope I have spelt them correctly.

Common sense denies them both. Where male is not sex is not. In the beginning there was neither. Where one begins the other begins, and both are inevitable complements to each other. Neither, therefore, can be more truly the race type than the other. It is a natural example of the social division of labour.

Yet Mrs. Gilman says that nothing more important than this gynaecocentric theory has been advanced since the theory of evolution, and nothing more important to women has ever been given to the world!

Formerly, according to this book, woman was dominant, but the inferior male ousted her from her place. If this were true (since Mrs. Gilman does not look beyond personal human agency for causality) it would simply be evidence, from the author's own standpoint, that the male was not inferior after all. But there is no evidence of its truth. The so-called Matriarchate is scarcely known to have existed except in some Indian hill tribes. And to go back to earlier tribal times, descent was traced through females because it was physically impossible to do otherwise in face of the then existing marital relationships. There existed no private property -and no instrument of domination except force and custom. And there is, in consequence, no evidence of female dominance. Nor is there the slightest evidence that the female was ever the stronger physically. Yet as one goes back to human origins the ruling qualities are more completely brute force and prowess in war-in which the inferiority of woman is most manifest.

Woman is still protected somewhat from the hurly-burly of personal conflict and the clash of war. In many mammals this is more plainly seen, and the male who fights with male does not attack the female, though the latter may often with impunity attack him. The deep natural basis of this simple fact refutes one half of Mrs. Gilman's random statements.

As society advances, however, socially organ ised force in class grooves displaces individual force. Intelligence, of a social rather than an individual character, becomes a more prominent feature. Machine industry makes the labour of women and children available because less force and less skill are required than in handicraft. Competition becomes less a matter of brute force and more a matter of deftness and inexpensive ness. Consequently the physical and mental differences between the sexes are less readily noticeable. The qualities normally demanded are less varied and human, and more mechanical. The essential differences between the sexes are only fully observable where the full depth of human physical and mental powers is sounded as in works of science and initiative, steady

strength and endurance. But why should there be rivalry? Only the capitalist system creates it. By the extra demands on her vital force in the processes of menstruation, conception, childbirth and child nourishment, the woman is handicapped in other spheres. And since the activities which belong to her alone are vitally necessary to society in the social division of labour, so there should be no rivalry, but only mutual help and forbearance.

Mrs Gilman repeatedly asserts that early inventions were feminine, and that out of the overflowing fountain of mother's love industry grew. But the only evidence of this is that woman as the child-bearer undertook the domestic duties while tribal man was hunting. Woman used the domestic implements; therefore, it is surmised, she made the improvements in them.

But this is not proof. If modern experience may be taken as evidence it becomes plain that though woman now mainly uses the domestic appliances, the improvements and inventions in then are overwhelmingly male. Mrs. Gilman herself says, in fact, that "in personal decoration to-day, women are still near the savage. . Here as in other cases the greatest artists are men, the greatest milliners, the greatest hairdressers and tailors, and the masters and designers in all our decorative toilets and accessories are men. Women in this as in so many other lines consume rather than produce."

Nevertheless, the authoress maintains that men are only fighters and begetters, while women are the true managers and producers. "For long ages," she says, "men performed no productive labour at all."

What senseless juggling with words! Men through the ages have been the bread-winners. Not only have they been hunters, but also pastoralists and agriculturists, when each was dominant- not to speak of industry. And each phase represented the essential productive labour: the source of livelihood of the race.

Much of the book, also, is a play upon the word "human." The authoress will have it that fighting is not human because women do not fight. Yet it was only because men did fight that women had no need to. Without the combative qualities which Mrs. Gilman sets aside as merely masculine, the human race would have ceased to exist. It could never have made headway against its multitudii ous enemies. Consequently the fighting instinct, most developed in the male, is and has been essential to humanity It is a great source of hardy enterprise and pro-

It is really not worth while dealing at length with the political opinions of the authoress They are those of a bourgeoise with a violent sex squint. Yet, like a true woman, she worships the male. This is seen even in the title of her book, and in her perferved dedication with "reverent love and gratitude." Not God, but Man, made the world, and behold it was very had. "The male of the species," she says," "is far ahead of the female." And again on page 59: "The most convenient proof of the inferi ority of woman in human beauty is shown by those composite statues prepared by Dr. Sargent for the World's Fair of '93. These were from gymnasium measurements of thousands of young collegians of both sexes all over America. The statue of the girl has a pretty face, small hands and feet, rather nice arms, though weak; but the legs are too thick and short, the chest and shoulders poor, while the trunk is quite pitiful in its weakness. The figure of the man is much better proportioned."

Surely much of this is sex bias. Evidently Mrs. Gilman is a very womanly human. And the fact that man is quite unjustly saddled with the direct and entire responsibility for all this does not detract from the piquancy of her statement.

But her tribute to man's superiority is too flattering. There is little that is godlike in the poor worm. Really, he did not create the world. Like "poor, down-trodden woman," he is a creature of clay and circumstances. In Mrs. Gilman's eyes, however, the economic development of which men and women are alike the victims, counts for nothing. It is all man's doing. Poverty, female inferiority, everything is due to male domination.

But all will be better than well when woman

gets equal rights with man.

Evidently, then, the all-round inferiority of woman on which Mrs. Gilman so strongly insists will vanish like smoke at this joyful consummation. She will be straightway transformed into a fairy goddess at whose magic touch all evil will vanish and all good prosper.

So it is with the illogical Suffragette every where. But such bare assertion is futile in face of the demonstrable certainty that neither the abolition of poverty nor the equality of the sexes can come except through that economic

and social change we call Socialism.

Indeed, the whole relationship between the sexes needs a readjustment it cannot possibly obtain under the system of private property The bonds forged by property, and the lonely, isolated home, are not a little responsible for the prevailing morbidity and hysteria. It is often felt in working-class homes as an added

unhappiness to the misery directly inflicted by capitalist exploitation. To-day the women of our class, even more than working men, need a wider outlook and a more happily varied experience. Even where home has its charm to the man as a haven of rest from the crash and scurry of every day toil, its very restfulness often spells deadly monotony to the woman whose world is all but comprised within its four walls. Variety is the spice of life. Yet for the wife to go out into factory or workshop is, under present conditions, only to make matters worse for both. Nevertheless, it is to be feared that the night of proletarian suffering will be still darker before the dawn is here.

January, 1912.

It is all the more needful, therefore, to resolute ly prepare for that dawn, when exploitation will give place to co-operation, and when men and wo men will cease to scuffle for their daily bread. Then human-kind will have emerged from the troglodyte stage, and will no longer resemble cavedwelling animals, rushing fiercely each day out into the struggling world, snatching food from each other, and then slinking guiltily back each to its individual lair.

TRADE UNIONISM IN FRANCE.

THE Annuaire des Syndicats Professionnels, published by the Direction du Travail, shows that on January 1st, 1911, the workers' unions (of industry and commerce) numbered 5,325, and comprised 1,029,238 members. This means that the General Labour Confederation, with its few hundred thousand affiliated members, represents barely one half of the organised workers.

On the other hand, employers' unions numbered 4,742, with 403,759 members. 194 mixed unions (employers and workmen) comprised 40,145 members, and 5,407 agricultural societies 912.944 members.

Leaving on one side the agricultural societies properly so-called, we find that employers and workpeople were organised in the following

	Employe	ers. W	Workmen.		
Mines:	80 per ce	ent. 28	per cent.		
Food supply;	30 ,, ,	, 9:	2,, ,,		
Paper:	86 ,, ,	, 19			
Metals :	19.6	, 17:	8 ,, ,,		
Transport:	47	, 24			
Liberal Professions:	10	, 18	7 ", ",		
Chemical Products:	Q4	21	" "		
Textile Industry:	7 "	. 15.	5 " "		
reactio industry .	٠ ,, ,	, 10	,, :,		

With the exception of the Textile Industry, then, in all branches of industry and commerce the Syndicalism (that some would have us be lieve to be a superior kind of Socialism) is much more developed among the employers than among the working class!

-Le Socialisme, 9.12.11.

In the succeeding number of Le Socialisme Compere Morel, in the course of an article entitled 'A Cry of Alarm," gives the following figures:

"On January 1st 1911 if there were in France 826 unions and 189,146 unionists more than on January 1st 1910-that is to say 5,407 agricultural societies with 912,944 members, and 5,325 workers' unions with 1,029,238 adherents, or 10,732 unions and 1,942,182 members-the General Labour Confederation only comprised 3,012 unions and 355,000 adherents!

"Not even one-third of the total unions or membership!!"

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED-Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)

"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York). "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).

"The Star of the East" (Melbourne).

"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"The New World" (West Ham).

'Freedom" (London)

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JOTTINGS.

January, 1912.

Speaking in the House of Commons on Nov 20th in support of Barnes' amendment with reference to Government workers and the Insurance Bill, the Right Hon [Can't allow coming events to cast their shadows here—Ep.] I mean Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (it is reported) said

"There is a good deal of sponging going on. I think it is high time Government workers were told that they have to submit to the same terms as obtain for employment in the outside market.'

Of course it is high time. Didn't Bill say something about "There comes a tide in the affairs of men "? Well, Mr. J. R.'s affairs have reached the particular stage indicated. So far the tale has been "nationalise," and great amelioration has been promised to workers coming under Government employment. Mr. Macdonald has exploited this story for all it was worth. It has enabled him to climb as high on the workers' backs as is possible. His next rise must come from the masters. So as it is high time that h got his-[Now it won't do. You know Mr. Macdonald has told us we must not say he is after a job. It is a sore spot. As he is a man who means what he says, he is just itching for someone to tell him the truth, and he is going to issue a writ. Whatever Mr. Macdonald is after. he has told us that we have got to shut up

while he gets it.— Ep.]
Well then, as the tide of Mr. Macdonald's affairs are at about that point where he would expect a very lucrative job to be thrust upon him by the capitalist Government, it is "high time" the Government workers were told that they are "sponging," and that "they have to submit to the same terms as obtain for employment in the outside market."

That's all there is in it.

The "Postman's Gazette"-representing a union of 40,000 postmen - in its editorial comment upon the above incident, says (2.12.11):

"The attack was not made by an irresponsible member of that party, but by the present and past leaders of the party, hence the deeper significance of the statements used in endeavouring to secure their object with regard to amending the National Insurance Bill. . . . practically being denounced as a privileged class of employees, enjoying benefits which the Labour Party leader thinks we ought not to enjoy.

. Nevertheless both he (Barnes) and Mr. Macdonald must be held responsible-the one for giving an opportunity to attack, and the other for making a general onslaught on the alleged privileges of established civil servants.

Surely the Labour Party leaders . have suffered a severe lapse of memory in not remembering the very great assistance the Postman's Federation has been able to render to the cause in all parts of the country and in the Law Courts. We are not out to seek any special thanks for the little we have been able to do, but we certainly think many of our readers will look upon Mr. Barnes' ill-considered amendment and Mr. Macdonald's attack as a poor 'return' for services rendered. . . . We must confess that our dealings with the Labour Party or individual members of it, have been disappointing - not only disappointing, but in many respects unfortunate. . . . We cannot tolerate any further jerrymandering or the We cannot drawing of red-herrings across our path.'

Such laments are a very touching reminder of the old saying about the fool and his money, but no amount of "weeping and wailing and guashing of teeth" will replace in the coffers of the Postmen's Federation the £5,000 they have spent in connection with the Labour Party. If, h! if the postmen had only read, marked and inwardly digested their Socialist Standard, they would not now be retching their hearts up at the muck they had got on their hands by handling something infinitely more noisesome and filthy than pitch.

The following extract is also interesting, not only because of its truth, but because it explains that the direct capture of the armed force offers

members of postal and other unions who have been strong in their allegiance to the Labour Party. It is from an article by Joseph Clayton entitled "On the Way to the cabinet" ("Daily Dispatch," 28 9.11).

"He [Mr. Macdonald] has never allowed his

connection with the Socialist and Labour movement to effect his seperation from the great body of Progressive thought, or from the social life of the wealthier middle-class Liberals. . . . As wire-pullers he and his late wife were never so successful as Mr. and Mrs Sidney Webb, but they understood that much could be accomplished by evening parties . . . The Labour Party, when it made Mr. Macdonald chairman, gave him a position of high importance in the House of Commons, but now, having reached that importance, the next step must surely take him into a Liberal Cabinet. . . the Cabinet what is to prevent Mr. Macdonald from reaching the Premiership. . . . He has learn't that one of the secrets of political success is to make use of everybody available and

everything to hand.' I have italicised a few luminous words for the particular benefit of federated postmen and others who are in the position of sucked oranges. They have been used to advance Mr. Macdonald to his present eminence; now that gentleman is constrained to convince the Liberals that all his "Labour" professions and protestations are but a part of his method of "getting there," and that now he has got there the workers are nothing but mats for him to wipe his feet on. and that therefore he is a safe man for their Cabinet. Hence "it is high time" he told the Government workers that they are sponges, and they can look to him to keep them in their pro-

Various papers have endeavoured to attach a Socialist label to the Chinese rebellion. In order, therefore, to point out the true nature of the re bellion, and to prevent anti-Socialists pointing to any subsequent actions of the rebels (if they are finally successful) with the remark: "What you may expect under Socialism," I give the following translation of a notice posted in the city of Shangai by the rebels.

"The Chinese governed you before the Manchus came into power 300 years ago.

"The Manchus are not business men, hence the backwardness of our country. "We want the Chinese (you) to rule our

country again and make our laws, and also to increase our world's trade. "Foreigners and their property must be re-

spected more than ever during the revolt, so that we may deserve their good opinion." -" Manchester Guardian," 21.11.11.

Rather reminiscent of Bottomley's John Bull League and their "business Government," is it not? The plain truth is that the rising capitalist class of China are endeavouring to throw off the yoke of feudalism, which prevents the expansion of Capitalism and limits the country's 'trade." In this respect the history of England. France, and other European countries is repeating itself in China, even down to the delicious little piece of humbug so beloved of the working class all over the world: "We want you to rule * * *

It is very significant to note that in recent successful rebellions, as in older instances, armed force has been on the side of the rebels. Portugal and Turkey are cases in point. In each of these cases, however, the opposition to the existing order has been well financed by interested people. But the Socialist movement, being a proletarian movement, cannot possibly subsidise paid troops, and must depend upon capturing the machinery of government by political action in order to use the armed forces of the State for its own ends. Secret attempts to bring over sections of the Army and Navy to our side would but lay us open to the agent provacateur.

I have stressed this point because so many persons nowadays, in view of the comparative ease with which the capitalist class in various backward countries are throwing off the remnants of out of date feudalism, seem to think much. It should be specially interesting to a speedier road to Socialism than by making

the majority of the workers class-conscious and so capturing political power.

Mr. Keir Hardie, opening a sale of work at Westminster on December 2, said: "The whole attitude of the present Cabinet in regard to foreign affairs, was outraging the whole Liberal traditions of the past," because "Sir E. Gray is so obsessed with the old Liberal Imperialist idea of maintaining the balance of power in Europe that to make a friend of Russia bad blood had been created between England and Germany.

Now had Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said that, should have suspected him of raising a protest at the instance of the German Emperor. Honi soit what is it to him who evil thinks. Being Keir Hardie he is above suspicion, and it can only be concern for the dear, glorious old traditions of Liberalism, from Featherstone to Tonypandy, that wrings these broken accents from his lips. Struth, Liberalism is going to the dogs, sirs. The only gleam of comfort left us is the reflection that the rot which has set in in the Liberal conduct of foreign affairs does not show any signs of immediately extending to home affairs. At the time of writing the police and the bonnie Highlanders are at Dundee, prepared to deal with the situation according o "the whole Liberal traditions of the past.

By the way, will the gallant policeman who smashed a baby's face during the recent dust up at Dundee kindly communicate his name, should like to have the honour of presenting his case to the Trustees of the Carnegie Hero Fund.

While, of course, it was very helpful to kosh this baby striker in its mother's arms, it occurs to me that the police hardly make sufficient of their opportunities at the other end of the scale. If advantage was taken of these disturbances to work off some of the Old Age Pensioners, I am sure a grateful taxpaying public would respond in liberal fashion. It might be mentioned in this connection that "every constable in the City Police Force [I quote "Lloyd's Newspaper," Dec. 24] has received with Messrs. N. M. Rothschild and Sons' best wishes,' a box containing a briar pipe, and a tobacco pouch, and a 1 lb of smoking mixture."

One can't help thinking that Houndsditch and Sidney Street have cemented the bond of sympathy between those who have so much to lose and those whom they pay to look after it for them. Meanwhile, have you ever watched a rich

man's bull dog wag his tail in satisfaction? It is wonderfully educational, and it brings home to one the fact that bad blood between England and Germany doesn't matter much after allto the likes of you and me.

TO WEST LONDONERS.

All those agreeing with the aims and methods of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and living in or near the Marylebone district, are invited to communicate with A. Kohn (new address), 24, Carburton Street, W., with a view to forming a Marylebone branch. Do it now.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the las Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Bead Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standand,



ROMANCE.

WE are now about the romantic period of the annual round. What innate property there is attaching to the eight days which follow Dec. 24 we are unable to explain. Those more deeply interested - the brewers and doctors - perhaps, know more about it. However, for some reason there is about as much gratuitous cant, hypocrisy, and humbug generated and set free in those eight days as in the other 357 days of the year. Cant!-the atmosphere is heavy with it. From the suddenly obsequious postmen, hunting in couples for honesty sake (and sitting up all night in couples to "cook" the books) to the sponging professional charity monger, the hosts and multitudes come grovelling with lying cant phrases, and expect payment for it.

Oh! it is sickening, the sudden interest the world takes in our happiness and welfare, from the scraping dustman to the slobbering "fool of the family" in the pulpit. None would dream in the midst of it all that every man's hand was turned against his fellow, and that even father and son, mother and daughter, were snatching the bread from one another's mouths from one end of the land to the other.

"Peace and goodwill!" scribble the editors. while they long for a sensational murder, or a coal mine holocaust, or a great war-for the sake of their shareholders. The doctors use the familiar old phrases, and reflect with satisfaction that business with them is always at its briskest after the feast. The undertakers wish you long life and happiness, but secretly hope to have the pleasure of providing you with Christmas box of a particular kind. Your very workmate slobbers "A Prosperous New Year to You," and trusts that it will be you, and not himself, who gets the sack.

How can it be expected that there can be any universal goodwill in a system in which the wellbeing of each is conditional upon the misery of

REALISM.

While the bells were ringing the lying message of peace and goodwill the cotton lords were preparing to lock out 160,000 operatives, and the pulpit and Press making ready to fight the masters' battle for them. Of course, the ostensible reason is that they are determined to defend the right of the operatives to remain outside the trade union. It is an excruciatingly funny idea, these cotton lords, whose mansions and factory walls would sweat blood of murdered men, women, and children, from every brick and stone and timber, could they be made to reveal the elements of their composition - a strange and fantastic idea, these ghouls and descendants of ghouls closing vast works and throwing millions of pounds worth of capital their wage-slaves. It is the superlative piece of hypocrisy of the whole deluge which has descended upon the unfortunate world in this season of hypocrisy.

As a matter of fact the trade is very busy, and the masters know well enough that wages commonly rise during times of pressure. If they have been able to escape the general tendency in a great measure, they are not such fools as to expect to do so always. There had been a growing demand for a 5 per cent. increase in wages, and the masters knew that that question had got to be fought out. It is also claimed that so great has been the demand for yarn that the weavers have had to pay high prices for it, and that the consideration that the stoppage of the looms would enable the supply of yarn to catch up with the demand, and so reduce its price, has had its influence in bringing about the

This may be so; but in any event it is quite clear that the ostens ble reason for the lock-out is nothing but a peg to hang lock-out notices up on. Employers are not so fond of ceasing their exploitation that they will lock out 160,000 operatives merely because 600 had struck on account of three or four non-unionists. No, if it wasn't so easy to give the latter the sack, the masters would have them secretly murdered rather than allow them to stand in the way of their plundering activities-just as they are ready to have their workers shot down in their efforts to grind down wages.

The incident of the strike gave an opportunity to force the inevitable fight on a false issue. and this, of course, is a cunning move on the part of the employers.

As for the "moral" aspect of the demand for a 5 per cent. advance of wages, there is this to be said. The present basis of wages, it is claimed, is that of 33 years ago. In June Mr. Gill, M.P., secretary of the Bolton Spinners' Provincial Association, speaking of the textile industry, said: "Since there was a general reduction of hours thirty years ago the speed of machinery has been largely increased. The size of machines is now much greater, so that the productive capacity per person employed must have increased by no less than 30 to 40 per

This estimate of the increased productivity per operative is absurdly low. In the absence of direct figures it may be pointed out that the population of the country has increased over 40 per cent. in the last 30 years, so that the production of textile goods for the greater population would demand a 40 per cent. greater output, other things being the same. A second point is that in the 14 years (we have not the figures for 30 years) from 1893 to 1907, the amount of textile goods exported in a year from this country rose from about £86,400,000 to nearly £144,600,000 ("Statistical Abstract," 55th number)—an increase, not of 30 or 40 per cent. in 30 years, but of more than 70 per cent. in 14 years. A third point is that during the same period the textiles imported have declined from 82 million yards to $77\frac{1}{2}$ mi.lion (*ibid*).

And now the most astounding point is this This increased population has been supplied, this vastly greater exportation accomplished, this decreased importation endured, with actually fewer operatives than formerly!

For according to the Local Government Board publication Cd. 4671, the number of operatives in the textile industries declined from 1.391.453 in 1891 to 1,301,685 in 1901-a decline of just on 90 000, not in 30 years, not even in 14 years, but in a single decade.

In the 30 years 1871-1901 the decrease was 145,000 roughly, and from 1851 to 1901 (50 years) it was 370,000.

In face of such figures as these it is readily seen how laughably insufficient is Mr. Gill's 30 or 40 per cent. in 30 years.

Out of all this wonderful increase of labour product, the labourers are demanding an increase of 5 per cent. in wages, and (Peace on Earth) the masters have locked them out to

Mr. Lloyd George, addressing a meeting of soft-heads in Cardiff on Dec. 29 last, said: "You cannot redeem those who are below except by the sacrifice of those who above." This is a tip we heartily commend to the textile (and all other) workers to day. They must recognise into idleness, in order to preserve the liberty of that the struggle for increased wages is futile to stave off the misery of their wage-slave position. They must recognise that their redemption from wage slavery can only take place through, as Lloyd George puts it, the sacrifice of those who

are above the master class-and they must proceed, firmly, unflinchingly, to sacrifice them.

The way lies first of all through the capture of political power, in order that the master class may be hurled from their possession of the means and instruments of production, so that this wonderful growth of the fertility of labourpower, half revealed by these official figures, may be directed to increasing the economic well-being of those that labour.

Goodwill to every hand that is given to this work, and may it prosper in the prosecution of the struggle this coming year.

A TALE OF THE SUBMERGED.

Bertram Williams, a homeless labourer of 21, fell, it is reported, into the Thames. In a moment of aberration of mind he got cut again. An idea smote him, perhaps because it was a raw December night. He thought he would try and find somewhere to dry his clothes. He went to two police stations, where he was referred to the casual ward. There they would not admit him because he had no "order."

There was one other place he could apply at in Christian England, overflowing with the traditional "peace and goodwill" of Christmastide. To the Salvation Army Shelter! Ah! yes, a good idea. "Knock, and it shall be opened "Do unto others——." 'For He e e doth mark th' spa a-rrow's fall." Excellent! B. Williams would go unto the Good Samaritan.

He found the G.S. on duty even at that early hour (4 o'c in the morning), which is not surprising, for these Salvationists watch as well as bray. It is a habit they acquire through watching the financial aspect of their "prayer skirmishes." When Williams preferred his request to be allowed to dry his clothes, he was told to call again at 5, because their rules did not allow them to admit anyone before that hour. You see, though it is true that the bridegroom cometh, the S.A. are so firmly convinced of his respectability that they make no provision for his reception before 5 o'c in the morning.

Of course, the wisest course for B. Williams to have followed, at least, from the moral point of view, would have been to get back into the river for an hour or two. Such Christian meekness would probably have met with its promised reward. He would have inherited the earth, or at least, six feet by two of it.

But there, we can all be wise after the event. Williams smashed the S.A. shelter window.

Oh dear! That's a crime against private property, you know. So they hauled him off to the police-station, where he was received with open arms. They didn't refer him to the casual ward now - he had smashed a window.

In the fulness of time Bertram appeared before the magistrate, to whom it was explained by the Good Samaritan that the Commissioner of the S.A. took a very serious view of the offence. That is only to be expected. It is a much more serious affair, smashing a window, than sowing the seeds consumption in a homeless young labourer. But what a wonderfully convenient thing the prison is to those who preach the gospel of turning the other cheek to the smiter

THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

A Central Economic Class is held every Friday evening at Head Office 10, Sandland Street. W.C., at 8 o'clock. All members are earnestly

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THE INFLUENCE OF MACHINERY UPON THE WORKING CLASS.

J. S. Mill, to the surprise of the Radicals, said that it was "questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudimprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make We of the Socialist Party have always held that labour saving devices have not lessened the sum total of work that is done by the workers, or increased the remuneration they receive for that work.

This position we defend against "cheery' social reformers who contend that machinery has had a beneficial effect upon working class conditions; that it has brought us nearer to a heaven upon earth.

January, 1912.

They assert that machinery has (1) shortened the working day, (2) abolished heavy and wearying work, (3) educated the worker by giving him intricate machinery to mind, (4) lowere the price of commodities, (5) whilst negatively it is contended that it has not made employment more irregular, nor caused any considerable amount of suffering by disturbing working conditions when applied to new in lustries. All misery attendant on machine production is due to Free Trade, or Protection, or Land Monopoly,

or some other Will-o' the Wisp.

Machinery, says the Liberal, has deepened the working man's chest and increased his stature by shortening the hours of work. When he says "shortened hours" we promptly ask "compared with when?" And as promptly comes the answer: "In comparison with the hours worked in the 'hungry forties,'" or "when my grandfather was a lad.

To compare present hours of work with the length of the working day in that transitional period when capitalism was in its birth throes (with the aim of extolling the difference) is an

mane procedure.

Thorold Rogers has shown the comparative leisure of the worker under the system of "small production "-with that we need not deal. If we take our case at its worst and compare hours of work to-day with the hours toiled in the early years of capitalism, we find justification for our case. We find that side by side with the shorter working day has come a quicker pace, a more rapid rate of production, a faster consumption of working-class brain, nerve, and muscle. Whether it be in the sphere of production-at lathe or loom, or in distribution on train, tram, or taxi, the working pace is fierce.

Even if we examine types of work where steam-power cannot be applied -office routine and the like-we find mechanical appliances such as calculating machines, typewriters, dictating appliances, etc., adding to the intensity of the workers' grind.

The spheres of production and distribution are worked at such a pace that even porters and packers and carmen and shopworkers and the like are affected by the pace which permeates from the departments where machinery reigns as God. The change from the leisurely life of the 17th. century to the horrid bustle of to-day is a change so scenic, so grim, so fraught with great possibilities and fearsome forebodings, that one's brain whirls at the revolution - and one smiles at fussy politicians and dozy economists. Machine production under private ownership has rendered futile the behest to "love thy neighbour" and ushered in the modern cry: Get on or get out!

Economists tell us that machinery is abolishing heavy and "very laborious" work. But whilst machinery has a tendency to make work less "muscular," we must not forget that (as J. A. Hobson puts it): "As regards those workers who pass from ordinary manual work to the tending of machinery, there is a good deal of evidence to show that, in the typical machine industries, their new work taxes their physical vigour quite as severely as the old work." And: "A lighter form of labour spread ghter form of labour spread over an increased period of time, or an increased number of minor muscular exertions substituted for a smaller number of beavier exertions within the same period of time, may, of course, amount to an increased tax upon the vital energy."

("Evolution of Capitalism," pp. 337 et seq.)
We must not overlook, either, the striking number of horrible accidents arising from the tending of machines. Even if those gullible optimists who find in machinery a "palliative," an economiser of working class energy-if these people had a defensible case at all it is destroyed this one factor, the mutilation, mortal and

otherwise, traceable to machinery.

If we examine the tables of death rates in various occupations we find evidence of the risk run by the workers. Taking figures for 1900-1-2 (and an index number of 1.000), we find that in the list of occupations "men of God" stand well at 524, and farmers at 596. Tramway workers are represented in the holocaust by the number 1,013; copper, tin, etc. workers by 1.043; tool, saw, and file workers 1,315; cotton workers 1,114; brush makers 1216: whilst publicans (terrible example of the pious) are overtopped in the figures by general labourers at 2,235.

General labourers! The phrase calls up reflections of physical and mental misery deeper than of Grecian helot or "the rude forefathers of the hamlet." 2,235! Pythagoras saw things strange and mystical in numbers; in the death rates and the accident rates of the class of labourers and miners Christian capitalists see things tangible-say a safe twenty per cent.; Socialists see the machine and the man, and curse the capitalism which serenely massacres the real pillars of society.

The machine (so we are told) "educates" the worker by giving him a complex machine to make and tend. If we grant the intricacy and skill involved in machine manufacture (an exercise of skill on the workers' part as great as the much puffed "labour of superintendence"), it is more than counterbalanced by the tedious times of the machine tenders, by the 'sameness" of the proletarian's work. home, his nece-sities, and his "luxuries," all bear evidence of the mechanical, low-priced, and mean. Production in iron, brass, copper, wood, cotton, etc., is simply a story of the exercise of similar actions, the making of prosy repetition articles. To quote J. A. Hobson: "The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost."

The workers, as Dickens said, are "those people who all go in and out at the same hours to do the same work; people to whom every day is the same as yesterday and to morrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the The "rude forefathers of the hamlet' were oblivious of the motor car, the Linotype, and the music hall; but in every village the craftsman in metals, wood, stone, or leather had by his daily work qualities of initiative and forethought cultivated, contrasting with the heavy hand laid by machines on their bored minders.

The individual who has heard of the "miseries of grandfather's days," challenges us with the assertion that machinery has lowered the price of the necessaries of life. A quotation from Marx's "Poverty of Philosophy" is apt here:
"The price of food [in civilisation] has almost continually risen, while the price of manufactured articles and luxuries has almost continually fallen. Take the agricultural industry itself: the most indispensable objects, such as wheat, meat etc. increase in price, while cotton, sugar, coffee, etc., fall continually in a surprising fashion. Even among food stuffs, properly socalled, luxuries, such as artichokes, asparagus, etc., are relatively cheaper to day than the objects of prime necessity. In our epoch the superfluity more easily produced than the necessaries of life. Finally, at different historical epochs, the reciprocal relations of price are not only different but opposed. All through the Middle Ages agricultural products were relatively cheaper than manufactured products: in modern times the relations are reversed."

So Liberal-Nonconformists expect the worker to be ridiculously thankful at the cheapness of questionable boots, frail sovereign suits, and dollar watches, while the rent of his "home,"

the price of his beer, his food stuffs, his fuel. etc., was never so prohibitive as in the "palmy present. On every point the machine defender is worsted. The worker is, indeed, hadly housed badly clothed, and badly fed.

The defenders of capitalism deny our asserion that machinery has made unemployment more acute. They admit that a new machine might cause a temporary displacement of labour, but contend that the decrease in price resulting from the use of machinery causes a new demand which absorbs the displaced labour. Things 'adjust" themselves and all is for the best. But whilst the "adjusting" process is fructifying, the worker is being pushed further into the mire. The adjusting period may be only temporary, but human lives are likewise temporary. knotting machine dispenses with five or six twisters"; the latter try to adjust themselves. Twisting is one of the numerous processes in cotton manufacture, and obviously the number of twisters is determined by the whole industry.

The production of cotton goods must increase six times if all the twisters are to find employment at their own occupation. Machinery thus makes the workers' jobs more hazardous and temporary. It throws out six twisters and finds employment for one mechanic making the new machine. The mechanic in turn is displaced by a lad working a new machine which "economises labour" in the engineering shops. Commonplace statistics have shown the existence of unemployed in every "skilled" trade.

In conclusion, Socialists do not see a "devil" in machinery. They appreciate its value to a society wherein are neither peers nor paupers, moochers nor millionaires. Socialists object to the capitalism which uses machinery as a means of more rapid and efficient exploitation of the workers; object to the degradation resulting from the existence of a factor which, under Socialism, will add leisure and pleasure to life.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

THE TRIAL OF DEMOCRACY." An Address delivered in the Town Hall, Birmingham, by the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of York. 3d. Cornish Bros., Birmingham.

this inaugural address as President of the Midland Institute, the Archbishop of York falls into the common error of thinking that democracy exists to day. He tells us that "Democracy has arrived," and also that "full-grown Demo cracy is here." He assumes the 1867 household franchise, with all its property qualifications and legal restrictions, to be "Democracy." Histask is to utter warnings and hints to the people to be very, very careful not to upset the timehonoured institutions and customs of the "British Empire" with their vote.

The Archbishop conceives two problems to be facing "democracy" now. The first is "The Problem of Empire," which he defines as "the task of carrying on and cementing an Empire.' How truly imperialistic the gospel of the "lowly Nazarene" has become!

The second "problem" is "the Distribution of Wealth." And of it the Most Reverend gent

"We are on the threshold of great danger. May we say broadly that the 19th. Century was concerned with the creation of wealth and that the 20th, will be concerned with its distribution; and, gentlemen, there is none of us, whatever his political views, who does not feel that this is a problem that needs adjustment. We cannot but be, shall I say appalled ? by the contrast left to us after these years of unexampled prosperity, of great wealth and great poverty, of increasing luxury and continuing squalor. It is a contrast that I had almost said hits those of our visitors who come to us from across the seas. One who came from the great Empire of India at the last coronation, in answer to the question what he thought of London, gave the significant answer: 'It is half wonderful, half terrible.' And that contrast between the don of the West and the London that I know so well of the East, is a contrast that may be seen over the whole field of our English life. I do not wish this evening to use any language that is sentimental or exaggerated. I am trying to put great reserve upon my speech. Butwhen I think of that great multitude of our working folk among whom I have laboured, whom I have learned to reverence, I cannot but see the picture of the monotony of toil which they are called upon to bear, of the uncertainty of employment that haunts them day by day, of the overcrowded houses in which we ask and expect them to maintain British homes, of the mean streets from which not only the beauty o God's earth, but of the comforts and conveni ences that are common to others, is shut outwhen I think of these things I know that there is a great social problem which during this century we are called upon to face."

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What an awful confession to make! After 19 centuries of "Christian civilisation," during which their religion has been preached throughout the globe, and has claimed greater influence than any other. Despite their proud boast that it has triumphed over vast areas and lived as an inspiration to man throughout the ages, they have to admit the terrible state of the people in the land of its greatest triumph. Christianity has had power and wealth greater than any religion. It has held sway over the minds of men and ruled their destinies. How has that power been used? Consult its bloody history and you will find it everywhere linked itsel with the ruling powers and helped to keep our class in subjection. Every step forward along the thorny road of social progress and menta freedom met with their fierce enmity. Allied with the State, it used the rack and the torture chamber, the stake and the dungeon, to drown men's cries for light and liberty in blood and stifle them with fire.

And if other means are used to-day it is because the knowledge of science, social and organic, gained in the teeth of the opposition of religious powers, has made their doctrines impossible.

The Lord Archbishop preaches "respect" and "humility," and his fears of real democracy are grounded upon his knowledge of the fact that enlightened men and women would make short work of a parasite Church and the employing class on whom it levies tribute for stupefying the minds of the subject class.

How truly capitalist is his advice appears from this: "Every effort made, and rightly made, to keep up the general average of wages and to lower the general average of hours, if it is not to hurt both industry itself and the character of the worker, must be balanced by the honest desire to earn the higher wage and to work hard in the shorter hours.'

Could more damnable cant by put in so few words? "The honest desire to earn the higher wage and to work hard in the shorter time. The workers' wage to-day is but a fraction of what they earn, so that higher wages under the most favourable conditions would but be getting a little more of their earnings. Why not say at once, "democratic" prelate, to earn higher profits for your paymasters the employers?

Right through the brochure runs the state ment that there is a social problem, but through it all appears the truth that the only problem the Most Reverend is concerned with is to secure that he and his class shall continue to sponge on the labour of the workers. So he is sorely troubled lest "democracy" lead to hasty action. thoughtless methods, and panic policies - lest ignorance triumph.

The Socialist knows the funky prelate has nothing to fear from these obsessions of his exalted imagination. Adult Suffrage, the Referendum, and the like, are but empty forms by themselves. They cannot harm capitalism or be of use to the workers while the latter are ignor ant. Socialism alone, by removing the economic barriers that keep the toilers outside the pale of civilisation, will give democracy its true value and social importance. Bound down to unchanging and unceasing drudgery, men and women to-day often ignore politics, to the delight of those who rule.

Those who seek democracy in more than name, those who want an alert, enlightened society filled with useful men and women taking a living interest in life and its lessons, must become

Those who don't become Socialists will inevitably be wrecked, like our Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop, on the rocks ahead for "democrats" who give a weapon to the workers without the chance to learn how to use it in their A. Kohn. own interests.

THE FORCES OF OPPOSITION.

It is only when one considers all the manifold forces that are arraved against the propagation of Socialism that the enormity of the task undertaken by the Socialist Party can in any degree be gauged. Not that any discouragement need be felt at this, however. The economic forces in society itself, working slowly but surely; the destructive criticism and analysis of capitalism, the affirmation of the Socialist philosophy, given from the platform and Press of the Socialist Party, are inevitably converging towards that time when capitalism shall fall and Socialism stand in its stead.

Still, it is well to take stock cecasionally of what is to be faced. The ostrich-like policy of refusing to recognise the strength of the opposition cannot conduce to progress.

Besides the orthodox political parties - Liberal, Tory, and so-called Labour - besides the open hostility of the religious denominations, we have all sorts of methods resorted to by all sorts of people in attempts vain attempts—to hold back the rising tide of Socialist thought. Openly or covertly, by frank opposition or by traitorous ostensible adherence, the agents of capitalism by speeches from their various platforms, sermone from their pulpits, or articles in their Press, are doing their utmost to turn the minds of the workers away from the mental path that leads to their emancipation.

Liberal and Tory politicians put forward programmes which they claim will palliate and make bearable the unbearable evils of capitalism. Leaders of pseudo-Socialist parties and pseudo-Labour parties propagate confusion in order to further their own financial or ambitious ends. Church of England clergymen and laymen gloomily deplore the fact of working-class discontent, attempt to substitute religious emotion for scientific thought among their flocks, and when this fails, preach a bastard sociology applicable neither to man, woman nor beast.

The Reverend Campbells and the Dr. Cliffords teach what they think, or pretend to think, is a new democratic view of Christianity, a New Theology," which "New Theology' lapses when found to be at variance with their

material prosperity.

The Roman Catholic Church sends its agents all over the world insidiously to combat Socialism by means of false promises, fair speeches on the moral duty of master and man, and all the arts so well known and well practiced by

the servants of the Papacy.

The Press, commercialised and prostituted to an extent perhaps never before known in the history of letters, panders to the basest instincts of the basest section of the community, or gives to its readers a sentimental and enervating outlook on life that is even more obnoxious.

A formidable opposition, this, truly, but not impregnable.

It is essential, however, that as opportunity arises, these various phases of capitalistic thought shall be criticised from the Socialist standpoint, and their fallacies and crudities exposed in their true colours. The present article is concerned with one such phase, viz., the position held by the Roman Catholic Church relative to the working class.

A pamphlet published by the Catholic Truth Society, entitled "The Condition of the Working Classes," and written by the late Pope Leo XIII., with an up-to-date introduction by the Right Rev. Mgr. Parkinson, D.D., has come into the possession of the present writer through a friend, to whom it was sent by an admitted agent of the Catholic Church.

The opinions expressed in the brochure may therefore be taken as those of official Roman Catholicism.

It starts out by admitting the appalling condition of the working class and the immediate need for remedying that condition. It says:

That the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been disturbing the nations of the world, should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of practical economics is not surprising. The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of

some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; in the increased self-reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and found quickly that some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes. . . . A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the very poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.

The writer of the pamphlet condemns in its entirety the Socialist solution of the problem, viz., the abolition of private property and the establishment in its place of common ownership of the means of life. He says:

If he (i.e., the working man) lives sparingly, saves money, and, for greater security, invests his savings in land, the land, in such case, is only his wages in another form: and, consequently, a working-man's little estate, thus purchased, should be as completely at his full disposal as are the wages he receives fo his labour.

Just so. But now, perhaps, some Roman Catholic political economist will explain in what way the utterly impoverished masses, the miserable and wretched vast majority of the working class, the teeming masses of the labouring poor under a yoke little better than slavery itself (vide above extracts) are to live more sparingly than they do, save money and invest it in land or anything else, even the smallest of "little

An amazing paragraph, as coming from an opponent of Socialism, comes a little later. By some unfathomable process of reasoning on the part of its writer, it is put forward with the intention of showing that private property is a natural right. It runs as follows:

Is it just that the fruit of a man's own sweat and labour should be possessed and enjoyed by anyone else? As effects follow their cause, so is it just and right that the results of labour should belong to those who have bestowed their labour.

The Socialist will readily agree with this. And as all wealth is the result of the sweat and labour of the working class (a proposition which defies contradiction), then all wealth should belong to "those who have bestowed their lathat is, to the working class.

But, if this is so, all that has been said before in the pamphlet in support of the private ownership of the means of life is negated. If one were not assured of the strict infallibility of the Pope (it is, of course, well known that all Popes are infallible) it might be thought that he had here "slipped up" somehow.

The whole pamphlet is a mass of contradictory statements and absurdities. In one place it strongly deprecates the notion of such a thing as a class struggle in society, yet in another place it says: "On the one side there is the party which holds power because it holds wealth; On the one side there is the which has in its grasp the whole of labour and of trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is even represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, broken down and suffering, and ever ready for disturbance.

Between two such classes of people what can there ever be but the bitterest antagonism To talk, as the pamphleteer does, about "Both classes uniting in friendship and brotherly love is, in the face of the above extract, either nonsensical vapouring or rank hypocrisy.

What strikes one particularly about the document at present in question is the tone adopted toward the working class. The rich, it would appear, stand on a higher plane than the poor. hey (the rich) must be exalted in the eves of the workers, must be respected, obeyed, admired and feared. The poor for their part are told to be content, are told that "poverty is no disgrace," that suffering must exist, are invited to come to God for solace in their misery, have held up before them the "blessed" poverty of Jesus Christ; have foisted upon them all the devilish slave-morality upon which Christianity

In the eyes of Roman Catholicism, if you are your virtues have brought you wealth; if you are poor, poverty is a blessing and it is your virtues that have brought you (always through the mercy of God) your "misery and wretchedness," your "yoke of slavery." Everything is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

The cry is "be content here and a crown of glory awaits thee hereafter"; be content, po verty is inevitable, what use is it to kick against the pricks? Do not strike, trust to your employers and the State. If you must form yourselves into associations let them be not Trade Unions-above all not a Socialist society-but come into the "Confraternities, Societies, and Religious Orders which have arisen by the Church's authority and the piety of Christian men." And last, but not least, obey implicitly the authority of the Roman Catholic Church trust in God and all will be well.

We for our part call upon the workers to take steps to order their lives in the light of their own intelligence. In the Socialist philosophy there is no room for the God hypothesis. When the working class at last awakens from its long aleep of anathy and ignorance (it is awakening) Gods and Popes and priests and all the other paraphernalia of inherited superstition will pass with the rest of capitalism, to be relegated to the limbo of forgotten things.

That the awakening may come speedily is the one wish of the present writer.

F. G. WEBB.

THE SOCIALIST TRADE UNIONISM.

[CONTINUED FROM DECEMBER ISSUE.]

THE anti-trade-union "Socialist" even goes so far as to declare that a Socialist organisation or journal cannot legitimately criticise trade union action—cannot offer comment upon a strike that has failed, and point out mistakes that have been made, and courses it would have been wiser to

The argument used to support this contention is that a strike, and also the object of it, is a sectional concern, and that therefore the Socialist organ that enters upon the subject is guilty of sectional action contrary to the class basis its principles.

Here again we have the old trouble—the shibboleth; the tyranny of terms and theories. The class idea is only partly understood.

When we speak of the class basis of Socialism we imply its direct and irreconcilable antagonism to capitalism and the capitalist class. organisation, our politics, our activities, are based upon the recognition of the class struggle. That is all.

Now the first phase of the class struggle which the workers are up against is the struggle to live in the present. This is quite as real a part of the class struggle as the endeavour for emancipation itself-though some otherwise enlightened wage-slaves whose lot is a comparatively easy one, seem unable to realise this.

The very elements of this struggle to live are "class." True, a strike is sectional in a certain narrow sense; but it is only a sectional phase of a class effort; it is a part of the struggle of the working class against capitalist aggression

As a matter of fact, this phase of the class struggle- the fight for wages and conditionscan only assume this sectional aspect. To assume an entirely "class" aspect involves the General Strike in its complete form. That, of course, can never come, because it presupposes organisation so far in advance of itself as to make it reactionary - organisation calling for Socialism, not for improved wages and conditions.

It is not, then, inconsistent with the revolutionary position to render support to trade unions in any action they may take upon sound lines, or to criticise their actions when they are unsound.

From what has been said it is clear that the Socialist Party cannot be antagonistic to the trade unions under present conditions, even though they have not a revolutionary base. On the contrary, it cannot even wish this base to be changed for the revolutionary one, since the revolutionary material does not exist in sufficient quantity to enable unions restricted to such to perform their necess ry functions.

leaders and the ignorance of the rank and file which make such misleading possible. But we good name—propaganda.

As to the future attitude of the Socialist Party toward trade unions, of course, the present pen man has no warrant to speak. But to give a strictly personal view, it seems hardly conceivable that the trade unions will fail to adapt themselves to the growth of revolutionary know ledge amongst their memberships. There at present appears to be no reason why they should not. There is nothing fixed about their bases which would preclude the change without the whole structures toppling to the ground - always provided, of course, the one essential condition for their maintenance—a revolutionary rank and file-is at hand.

And even when the time comes when the revolutionary element among the membership could secure a narrow majority in a vote there seems to be no obvious reason for purging the organisations of those who do not hold the revolutionary opinion. Such a course could hardly avoid weakening the unions in their proper sphere of action under capitalist conditions, and would not strengthen them for the revolutionary purpose of the future. In addition. to do so must inevitably be to set up rival trade unions on a reactionary basis, and this would defeat the object of the revolutionaries in taking the step of revolutionising the unions.

For when it becomes a question of the respective strength of revolutionary and non-revolutionary unions, and more particularly as the first increased in strength, economic necessity would force men to hide their political convictions and creep into the organisation which offered them the best prospects immediately - just as it forces revolutionary workers to-day to join economic organisations on a non-revolutionary basis, and dominated by reactionaries and traitors.

To make political convictions the test of membership of organisations which men are forced to join on pain of economic penalty, therefore, is pre ordained to defeat its own object.

And what good could be expected? The two functions of economic organisation are-immediate, and ultimate. The first is non-revolutionary, the second revolutionary. But though the two are so different they are not antagonistic. The non-revolutionary is not anti-revolutionary. To fight for present life does not delay the overthrow of the present social system. When the worker acquires revolutionary consciousness he is still compelled to make the non-revolutionary struggle.

Moreover, after his conversion his methods on the economic field differ little from those he previously was compelled to follow. His greater knowledge will save him from many blunders in the field, will show him how little he has to hope for from the struggle he is compelled to make. But substantially the efforts of the revolutionary and the non-revolutionary unionist on the economic field are reduced to the same plane-that is, they must endeavour to restrict competition amongst themselves; to organise for collectively withholding their special quality of labour-power.

It is on the political field that the two part company and become antagonistic.

It is not difficult to understand this. The immediate object of economic organisation- the only one which present trade unions haveis non political. It cannot be fought out on the political field. The arena is the labour market. On the contrary, that other and future function

of economic organisation, which is to take over and administer things when the workers have obtained political supremacy and destroyed the power of the State-that function cannot begin to be active until the workers have fought out the struggle upon the political field.

All fit material, revolutionary or non revolutionary, for the struggle on the economic field the resistance to capitalist encroachment - can and must prosecute the fight together. But directly the political is entered upon, one is necessarily working for or against the revolution, and the non-revolutionary worker of the economic field becomes an anti-revolutionist in the arena of politics.

necessary to organise a separate political party What the Socialist Party must, however, be of the workers. It was necessary to leave the hostile to, is the misleading by the trade union workers the instrument of their resistance to capitalist encroachment while the weapon for capitalism's overthrow was being forged. Had call the manifestation of this hostility by a very the requirements of the two objects been the same had the non revolutionary worker been

unnecessary in the present struggle upon the economic field, or had he been of any use in the revolutionary struggle, then the political and the economic organisations might have been

This seems to indicate that as the revolutionary element in trade unions grows strenger, the same difficulty that at present makes it impossible to impose any political restriction upon their membership—that is, that disruption would result-will compel the unions to relegate all political action to political organisations.

Thus with the gradual spread of Socialist views and the consequent change of men's minds, the unions may gradually become the fit instrument of what final purpose of economic organisation may have, without the purging process.

For it is difficult to see, at the present time, what is to be gained by the expulsion of such members as have not then embraced the revolutionary idea. The strength of the Socialist movement can never be judged by the strength of the economic organisation, whatever the supposed basis, but by the power of the working class political party, hence the presence of unclass-conscious workers in economic organisations avowedly open to such cannot well mislead. And at all events they will be present in such economic organisations as are ostensibly closed to them when those organisations are strong enough to influence their chances of obtaining work.

Of course, if the economic organisation was formed to "take and hold" in the face of the political supremacy of the master class, things would be different a different material would be required. But economic organisation is not demanded for that purpose, but for carrying on production and distribution when the political party has achieved its purpose. It seems logical to suppose that, since production and distribution will not then be carried on by the revolutionaries alone, even the reactionary labour power may be better organised inside the economic organisations than outside.

However, interesting as these speculations are, they are rather outside the province of the present articles, which concern the attitude to day of Socialists toward trade unions. This attitude cannot be one of hostility though it devolves upon Socialists to combat the unsound action of trade unions and trade unionists, as also the ignorance from which these unsound actions spring. But when trade unions take action on sound lines it becomes Socialists to remember their class allegiance and give them A. E. JACOMB.

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A DEBATE

BETWEEN

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Finsbury Park"	3.0	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	F. J. Rourke
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11 30	A. Jacobs	C. Parker	C. Ginger	A. Jacobs.
Ilford (station)	7.30	A. Pearson	A. Jacobs	A. Anderson	C. Ginger
Islington, Higbury Corner	11.30	A. Hoskyns	F J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	Halls
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	C. Parker	F. Dawkins'	J. Halls	J. Holmes
NAME OF THE PARTY	7.30	C. Ginger	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald
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Peckham Triangle	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	J. Holmes	A. Hoskyns	A. Barker
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	1. Fitzgerald	A.W.Pearson	A. Hoskyns	C. Ginger
Tooting Broadway	11.30	J Holmes	A Barker	H Cooper	A. Barker
	7.30	A. Hoskyns	H. Joy	A. Jacobs	t. J. Rourke
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	C. Giuger	J. Fitzgerald	A. W. Pearson	R. Fox
" "	7.30	F. J. Rourke	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins	C. Parker	A. Anderson
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	.,	H. Cooper	A. Barker	R Fox	H. Joy
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill		A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	J. Holmes	C. Parker
" "	7.30	R. Fox	C. Ginger	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen
		and the same of th			

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m.

TURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.

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their democratic control by the whole people. That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of

he working-class itself. • That as the machinery of government, includng the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,

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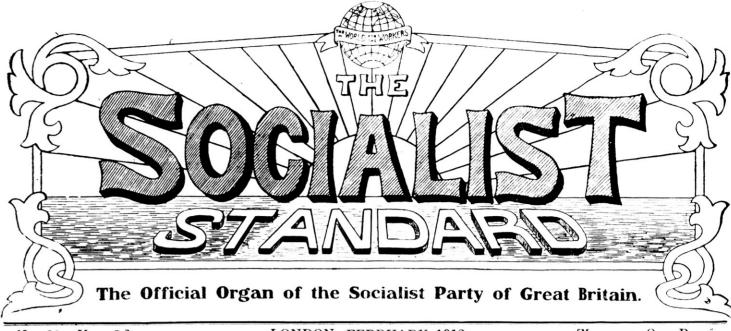
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No. 90. Vol. 8.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY 1912

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

SOCIALISM AND THE SUFFRAGETTE. MISS E. BARRY, B.A. AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

To the Editor of the Socialist Standard.

Sir,—A naturalist who, in noting a change of habit or variation in conduct of a creature under his notice, and about which he had recently written a book, should fly into a rage, abuse the animal, and endeavour, to force it back into its old customs, would be regarded with justice as a traitor to science. Yet this is precisely what the male politician does with regard to the new develop ments among women. Angry that she no longer fits into the little corner he has prepared for her in the social scheme he has built up, entirely without her co-operation, he finds relief in abusing her, and in shouting her down.

Moreover, all politicians, of whatever party colour, use the same methods of vituperation. A touch of originality would at least enliven their recriminations, but with dull, age old, prejudiced invective the bitter war goes on. Who shows the greatest "sex-bias," to quote F.C.W., in the strife?

We picked up the Socialist Standard and read about the Suffragette. As well might we have picked up the "Daily Mail" or the "Morning Leader"; for all three on this question speak the same language, breathe the same ignorance, the same sentimental, masculine futilities, the same contemptuous comment on what they fail to understand. We felt after we had begun to read the description of the Suffrage movement as "a pitiful caricature of the male struggle for the franchise," a trading on "sex-privilege," and after making the allusion to the "cheap glory" and to that "starvation which has all the charms of novelty" (!), that we should soon chance across the words "morbid," "hysterical," and 'illogical," and there they were, our dear old friends, without which we should hardly know that a man was describing the sex of the mother

We found, moreover, what we do not often see stated in black and white and with such simple confidence, that "the true woman worships the male" (O fatuous complacency!), that "the professional woman is nerve-racked and overwrought by the very intensity of the effort needed to compete with men" (we have intimate knowledge of men and women working side by side in a profession, sharing everything with rigid equality, except the emoluments, and we have failed to notice these shocking consequences. We have seen the men overwrought and nerve racked quite as frequently

could as the women. Could it have been that this was the result of the "very intensity of effort needed" to compete with the women?)

We are told further that Nature has handicapped the woman in her competition with this superior creature by making "extra demands on

her vital force," that, in short, woman's place is in the home, doing "crochet, embroidery," and pursuing "old-time occupations," and that this loudly emphasised to drown inward qualnus—she must be content, in short, to sew on his buttons and nurse the baby.

The writer of the article stops just short of the suggestion inevitably made by the man in the street to the Suffragette marching in her interminable procession, that "All she is fit for is to have ten children." O reverence and respect for motherhood in which we are told man believes, here you have your exponent in the voice of the people!

The Socialist is as primitive in his prejudices as is any Liberal or Tory. It is not a question of politics but of masculinity.

of politics but of masculinity.

"Go home," says the Tory, "mind the baby, and if it is a bit dull, come to our Primrose League meeting and your well-known powers of persuasion—though, of course, your logic is inferior to ours—your habit of never getting into rages at people's front doors while canvassing—though, do not mistake, you are hysterical and we are not—your quickness in seizing the gist of the argument—though your intellect is inferior to ours—will be of great help in getting our logical, sane intelligence into Parliament.

Suspicion. and Radical Association as a means of mental refreshment; the Socialist offers the S.P.G.B. meeting and the prospect of a neat future all arranged for women by men as blind to her needs as is F.C.W.

The Liberal offers the Liberal

For, as regards Socialism, the last word for women has not been said when the Peclaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B. has been accepted. There is still left untouched the whole question of sex relationships. Of this not a word is said in the aforesaid declaration. Yet this matter is at least of equal importance to women as that the means of production of wealth should be owned by the people. Nor can the sex question be settled except as a separate issue. The "people" might very well own the means of production and women yet be enslaved. But women cannot trust men who shriek "morbid!" "illogical! "hysterical!" at the woman who is endeavouring to expound her point of view, to settle this tremendous question for them. In this matter she is the protagonist, and must continue to elucidate her own needs in spite of the fact that the man is working or speaking so busily about his point of view of her that he cannot hear or read her view of herself.

I base my right to a hearing on several things: first, as a patient student of the history of women; secondly, as one who has followed the windings of the Suffrage movement for as many years as there has been a militant section; thirdly, as one who is acquainted with dozens of Suffragettes and who has some intimate friends among them; but, before all, because I am a woman.

That quality is the first and absolute necessity for understanding the present feminist movement and its political indications.

The Suffrage movement is merely a drop in the wave of doubt on the part of women that men have ever or will ever understand their needs. This wave is sweeping over the whole civi-

lised world of women. From Turkey to America, trom Japan to Moscow, women are raising their eyes and seeing how things are with them. They are realising, what F.C.W. does not, that, in contradiction to his statement, men's and women's interests are not by any means always one. What of the prostitute? What of the woman forced into the artificially unequal competition of the labour market?—in which not "woman's inferior labour-power" obtains a lower wage—for when she takes his place at the same work and produces identical results she is paid less.

No, it is her sex which is penalised. She is paid less because she is a woman. Astounding to relate, F.C.W. stems to imply that this is just, since she is supposed to have no encumbrance and the man a family to maintain. Has F.C.W. ever noticed a case where a widow with six children to support has been paid more than the bachelor on that account?

But not one trifling thing or another can account for the woman's movement. Woman's ears are full of the voice of Evolution. She cannot hear the man's exhortations, futile ragings and vain prohibitions. This is her hour. She has arisen to build a future for herself.

Before this great conception of the Feminist movement such writers as F.C.W appear as flies on the wheel of Fate. Their efforts to cause it to cease turning are as valueless as a fly's efforts. His destiny is to watch and wait. Woman can no longer be legislated for. The honest woman has ceased her pretence of "worshipping the male." Man must stand by and see her work out her own salvation, for assuredly she cannot, if she would, accept the ready made systems which he is offering her.

which he is offering her.

Not only is F.C.W. ignorant of the psychology of this greatest issue of the present day, but also of that small, though meaningful part of it, the Suffrage movement. Of its actual history he is staggeringly unaware. Thus he says that "its adherents do not lose a living by their farcical bravado." I know at least a dozen women who have lost their sole means of livelihood by taking part in the movement. I know intimately two who have had no work except of the most casual kind for a year. I know three wo-

Cleaning men, all self-supporting, who are complete invalids for life from treatment received at the hands of policemen and male opponents. I know of nurses, teachers, and mill girls forced to quit their work. That F.C.W. does not know these things completely wipes out his indictments that

these women make "a hubbub" about their ill treatment and that they get much out of "sexprivilege." If he wishes I can supply him privately with names and addresses.

I cannot say I know any Suffragette whose "robes" are taken off and put on by servants, but I do know women who prefer to work in the world rather than bring up their own children, and I applaud the woman who realises that her vocation does not lie in the direction of training the young. Since I know that all fathers do not possess the necessary qualities, I see that we can not expect all women, who are just as much individuals, to possess them either.

On the purely political side F.C.W. errs unpardonably. He should at least acquaint himself with facts. What women want, he says, is a property vote. He is wrong They ask for the vote on the same terms as men. If F.C.W. can effect an alteration in the old, bad laws his sex have produced, and find a more democratic basis for the vote, woman would still demand the vote on the same terms as men, and his plaint will perforce be hushed. But women are not going to set about agitating for the reform of man's own suffrage laws until they have got a weapon with which to strike at them. They have done enough spade work for men. Thus if F.C.W. secures manhood suffrage, women will advocate womanhood suffrage, and there is his adult suffrage bill complete.

In these words: "On the same terms as men," lies woman's just and natural indignation at the prospect of more men-working or otherwisehaving the vote while sex still excludes herself. It is another insult to her as a woman.

F.C.W.'s attitude to the "superficial and amusing" Mrs. Gilman, of a fame which has spread over two continents, I shall not speak of, except to comment upon it as an example of the way in which a man will speak contemptuously of a great woman, qua woman. Hence, knowing that common respect for sincere research and patient intellectual effort is merely decent and good form, I am inclined to echo F.C.W.'s statement that as for man, "there is little that is Godlike in the poor worm." But otherwise F.C.W.'s article is of errors all compact. A complete answer would take a whole Socialist Standard. As rhetoric we applaud it, but of knowledge it has not a syllable. Yet, however, there is a hint that at the bottom of F.C W.'s heart he has doubts about woman's happiness in the home, with the crochet and the embroidery, to which he, in common with the Tory and the Liberal, so forcefully consigns her, for he says uneasily that this life may be "deadly monotonous" for her. However, he has no remedy except crochet and a vague recommendation to her to wait for the time when "the dawn" is ushered in and men will "no longer resemble cave animals," etc. We cannot heed him. We women have to build a future system for ourselves. We are not satisfied with the place assigned to us by the "hysterical !- illo gical !-morbid ! "-crying Tory, Liberal, and Socialist. We have our livings to get, our own and our children's future to watch over - a future made to our wishes, suited to our natures, conforming to our intellects, allowing for our individualities and for the strength of nerve and endurance of body which have perpetuated the human race.

ELIZABETH BARRY, B.A.

The above typically illustrates how the Suffragettes always avoid the vital issue.

The article in question described the factors giving rise to the Suffragette movement, and showed it to be capitalistic. It exposed the fraud in the present "votes for women" agitation, and pointed out that the emancipation of working men and women from economic bondage, drud gery, and poverty could only be hindered by giving more votes to property. That is why we oppose the Suffragettes, it said. Only through S cialism could the women (as well as the men be emancipated; and to that supreme end all working-class efforts should be directed.

And how does Miss Barry meet this? By making a man of straw. She treats the issue as being one of sex, when it is one of class. She endeavours to identify our case with that of the "Daily Mail"; and, desiring to saddle me with some particularly foolish view, she says that I 'stopped short" of it, and proceeds as though I had uttered it, She quotes the contemptible

attitude of an imaginary Tory toward his women folk, and says " So speaks the Social st and offers the S.P.G.B. meeting "! But that is not all. She says that in my article "we are told further . in short woman's place is in the home, doing 'crochet, embroidery,' and pursuing 'old time occupations,' and that -this loudly empha-ised to drown inward qualms must be content to sew on his buttons and nurse the baby." All of which is nothing less than deliberate falsehood, being contra dicted both in the letter and the spirit of the article in question.

Moreover, in practically every case Miss Barry has re-arranged the words of her "quotations to suit her convenience, while retaining the inverted commas -a thing inadmissible in honest journalism. For example, she "quotes" with regard to the Suffragettes, that "its adherents do not lose a living by their farcical bravado. Here, apart from a re-arrangement of the words she has, to suit her case and enable her to talk plausibly of secret addresses, care!ully omitted a vital phrase from the very midst of the "quo-But even were this not so, the matter does not turn on rare cases. One swallow does not make a summer. And no misquotation, no subterfuge, can hide the obvious fact (which Miss Barry dare not openly deny) that the Suffragette movement is not working class. It is a movement of the well to do and their hangers on. Itssociety weddings, receptions, huge collections and titled adherents, all proclaim its capitalist nature. To the workers this class issue is of supreme importance. It is clearly stamped on the Suffragette demands, for it is futile to deny that they mean "votes for property irrespective of the sex of the owner.'

As already stated (and it has not been denied) the Suffragettes oppose adult suffrage. The vote to women on the same terms as men as at pres ent would exclude the mass of working-class women (or their husbands) because of their tack of property. It would permit the doubling of the voting strength of property by enabling the wealthy to provide their women with the requisite qualifications. It would deal a blow at the whole working class, and set back the hour of emancipation.

It is actually suggested that I consider the lower remuneration of women to be just! This is an absurdity so obvious that only the direct poverty of argument could have induced Miss Barry to utter it. The laws which determine wages are the consequence of the wages system. and can only cease to be true when that system is abolished. We are endeavouring to overthrow that system; my critic is labeuring, consciously or unconsciously, to perpetuate it. of the sweated widow, equally with the sale of women's bodies for a living, demonstrates, above all, the pressing need for Socialism-not for more votes for property!

And how nauseating is the hypocritical sentimentality, characteristic of the Suffragettee of both sexes, which repeatedly apostrophises the reverence and respect for motherhood." when they treat motherhood as a curse and applaud those who renounce it!

It is, it appears, sex bias to pillory the absurdities in a book written by a woman. We must surrender our honest judgment to Mrs. Gilman because the Suffragettes consider her great! A book, whether by man or woman, is entitled to our respect as Socialists, not for its meretricious brilliance, but for its truth and usefulness. Mrs. Gilman's book signally failed at the test. It is our duty to brand errors which are pernicious to our class. These are questions of fact, not of "good form" or "respect." They can only be met by questions of fact; and Miss Barry has wisely refrained from defending in this way her heroine's manifest absurdities.

However, it is not necessary to be as verbose as my critic. Her letter is a good example of Suffragette "logic." It shows yet again that the only weapons against the Socialist case are misrepresentation and evasion. Miss Barry has been unable to dispose of the Socialist contention that the interests of working men and working women are identical, and that Socialism alone can provide the economic foundation for the full and free development of men and women. In face of this fact how childish is her assertion, put forth oracularly on behalf of all women, that they cannot wait for Socialism, they are going to "build up a future system for themselves"! supplied the bag bearing the magic legend was removed, and they were handed the unstamped

Truly the futures of working men and women are inseparable. As stated in the Declaration of Principles of this party, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex. And the task before proletarian men and women is the exposure of the capitalist nature of the 'votes for property" campaign, and the organisation of their class in the struggle against all sections of the capitalists and their sycophants, irrespective of sex.

February 19 2.

THE ETHICS OF COMMERCIALISM.

In spite of the numerous laws that have been passed prohibiting the sale of adulterated foodstuffs, the number of prosecutions each year is enormous. And yet the total cases detected by the inspectors is insignificant compared with the actual amount of adulteration.

Avoiding detection seems to have been reduced to a fine art, especially in some branches of inlustry - the dairy trade, for example.

The official figures show that of the total number of samples of milk taken, over 12 per cent. have been found to be adulterated. But adulteration to day is carried to such perfection that many of the samples taken cannot be proved to have been tampered with.

Take, for example, the case of the London dairyman who, when brought into court charged with selling adulterated milk, had finally to admit that he had systematically "doctored" his commodity for the last three and a half years. Yet dozens of samples had been taken from him by the Council and passed as genuine new milk.

Now milk, before it can be assumed to be adulterated, must contain less than 3 per cent. of fat, which is the amount prescribed in the milk regulations of the Board of Agriculture. This is, as is well known by the authorities, a very low percentage, and there are very few cows indeed that would give such a poor quality of milk. But unless the samples prove upon analysis to be below this "standard," the authorities cannot prosecute.

So the 'cute and unscrupulous dairyman takes advantage with impunity of this margin between the standard allowed and the actual quality given by the cow, and reduces all his milk to the artificial line of demarcation.

Because of the difficulty of detection the method usually adopted is that of adding separated milk. The lactometer (an instrument for testing milk by its specific gravity) is placed in the churn of milk and the "sep" added until the lactometer indicates that the legal limit has been reached.

Hundreds of samples of such milk can be taken and analysed, and passed as new milk. It is only when the dairyman "overdoses" it that he is prosecuted, and even then, often enough, unless it is a very flagrant case, no action is

After the dairyman has been fined several times his name gets very odorous in the district, and it frequently becomes necessary to find a new name for the firm. Many instances of this could be given, but one, which developed into a rather amusing case, will suffice.

A short time ago a North London firm was fined £100 for the above method of fraud, and the customers hearing of it, naturally began to transfer their custom to other dairymen. In an endeavour to avert this the name of the firm was changed, and shortly after the old firm was summoned for the old offence, but under the new name, and were fined only £5 because this was the first offence!

Another dairyman had a novel device for selling margarine as butter. As he was of the opinion that the inspector would not ask the carrier when on the round for a sample, he considered it safe to work off the margarine on the unsuspecting "round" customers. But the officer eventually got a clue, so another innovation was tried.

The "butter" was wrapped in ordinary unstamped paper, and then placed in a bag labelled "margarine." If the inspector or a "suspected" person asked for half a pound of butter they were told that it was margarine, and shown the stamp. But when the regular customer was

packet. And the very existence of the law and the inspectors helped to lull their suspicions and render the deception more complete and

And so the game goes on. There is a continual struggle going on between the fraudulent trader, who seeks the aid of science in his nefarious business, and the inspector, who has to be a veritable Sherlock Holmes if he is to be succe-sful in catching his prey. Every new method of detection, every fresh trap to catch the culprit, only results in the discovery of other means of defeating the law.

Some of our critics think that they have dis covered in the laws relating to adulteration. 2 flaw in our contention that the capitalist class legislate in their own interests. They assert that the laws are diametrically opposed to the interests of the ruling class.

Such an idea is entirely erroneous. We cannot look upon the wealthy class as one homogeneous whole in all matters of detail, although we can, in a broad sense, when considering the interest of the working class as opposed to that section of society.

The wealthy class function in society in a twofold capacity, i.e., as capitalists and as purchasers of commodities for personal consumption. It is in the latter capacity that the capitalist generally views the laws directed against adulteration and seeks to protect himself from the unscrupulous trader. But even as a capitalist and an employer he knows that these laws are an advantage to him; for if his wage-slaves are getting inferior food, he is getting an inferior quality of labour power. Therefore he is not getting full value for his money, for after all, the wages he pays are only the equivalent of the food, clothing, and shelter supplied to the labourer, and necessary to enable him to reproduce his efficiency. Indirectly, the capi alist purchases the food, clothing, and shelter for the worker when he hands him his wages, so he himself is affected by any fluctuation in its quality or price.

This has been admitted, unwittingly no doubt, by the European and American statesmen, large companies, and even Governments who have raised the nominal or money wages of their employees because of the increase in the cost of

These laws, again, aim at protecting the capitalist from "unfair" competition. again as an example the dairy trade During last summer the exceedingly dry weather was responsible for a shortage in the supply of milk which resulted in a rapid increase in the wholesale price.

This affected the small men far more than the larger retail firms. The latter are usually cowkeepers, and are therefore not affected by the price, but only inconvenienced, perhaps, by a little shortage. But the small traders, who depend upon the wholesale firms for their supply, had to pay such a price that it left them no margin of profit. In many districts they could not even raise the price to their customers, for the larger firms, after consultation among themselves, agreed not to do so -no doubt with a view to crushing out their small opponents.

This proved to be a great incentive to adulteration by the small men, as many of the local papers will testify. But still many of these petty traders were exterminated through ina-bility to make the business pay. In some cases, after holding out to the last, they endeavoured to sell out to their larger competitors; but the latter were often too 'cute to purchase, knowing full well that their rivals would have to retire from the field, and that they would then get their businesses for nothing. And they did so, eventually, while their one-time competitors were reduced to the ranks of the unemployed.

No wonder John Bright once referred to adulteration as a legitimate form of competition. Adulteration is the outcome of competition and the desire for profit, and it is therefore inherent in the capitalist system. And no matter what number or manner of laws are passed against it, it will continue as long as the system

When food and clothing are produced for use and not for profit, adulteration will disappear along with the huge army of inspectors who at present try to exterminate the adulterator, and signally and ignominiously fail to do so.

SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISATION.

AN EARLY ARTICLE BY PAUL LAFARGUE. ---:0:--

Readers know the circumstances in which Paul Lafargue and Laura Marx have ended life together, Latargue and Laura Marx have ended life together, with their last words expressing their belief in the early triumph of the cause for which they laboured. We bow before death. Nevertheless we rejoice that, although Lafargue has laid down the pen, his words still fight on behalf of the workers. The following article, written in "L'Egalite' of June 2nd, 1882, is still temphant and unfal. still trenchant and useful.

At the present moment a kind of Socialism for capitalists is being created. It is very modest. It contents itself with the transformation of certain industries into public services. Above all, it does not compromise one. On the contrary, it will rally a good number of capitalists.

They are told: look at the Post Office, that is Socialist public service, functioning admirably to the profit of the community, and more cheaply than if it were entrusted to a private company, as was formerly the casely The gas supply, the railways, and the building of workmen's dwellings, must also become public services. They will function to the profit of the community and -will chiefly benefit the capitalist class.

In capitalist society, the transformation of certain industries into municipal or national services is the last form of capitalist exploitation. It is because that form presents multiple and incontestable advantages for the bourgeoisie that in every capitalist country the same industries are becoming nationalised (Army, Police, Post Office, Telegraphs, the Mint, etc.)

Certain monopolised industries, indeed, delivered up to the greed of private companies, become instruments for the exploitation of other sections of the capitalist class, and so powerful that they disturb the whole bourgeois system.

Here are a few examples. The electric telegraph, on its introduction into France, became a State service because the political interests of the Government required it. In England and the United States, where the same political interest did not exist, the telegraphs were estab lished by private companies. The English Government was compelled to buy them out in The English the interest of all-particularly the speculators, who in the transaction found means of obtaining scandalous profits. In the United States the telegraph service is still in private hands. It is monopolised by a gang of speculators who control the entire Press of the country. These speculators communicate telegrams only to newspapers in vassalage to them, and which must pay such a heavy tax that many, being unable to bear such a burden, do without telegraphic news altogether. In America telegrams are the most important part of the newspapers; to deprive them of these despatches is to condemn them to languish and die. In that republican Republic which individualist Liberals take as the ideal of their most daring dreams, the liberty of the Press is at the mercy of a handful of speculators, without government force and without responsibility, but in control of the telegraph service.

The railway monopoly is so exorbitant that a company can at will ruin an industry or a town by differential or preferential tariffs. The danger to which society is exposed by the private ownership of the means of transport is so keenly felt that in France, England, and the United States, many capitalists in their own interests demand the nationalisation of the railways. In capitalist society a private industry only becomes a State service in order to better serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. The advantages which the latter obtain are of different kinds; we have just spoken of the social danger created by the abandonment of certain industries to private exploitation, dangers which disappear or are attenuated as soon as the State directs them, but there are others.

The State, by centralising administration. lessens the general charges; it runs the service at a smaller cost. The State is accused of paying everything more dearly than private enterprise; nevertheless, such is not always the case when there is question of the establishment of means of communication, one of the most difficult and complex enterprises in modern society. Thus the tramways constructed in France have, with rare exceptions, cost an average | Post Free 13d.

of 250,000 to 300,000 francs per kilometre as a first establishment charge. The railway from Alais to the Rhone has eaten up per kilometre of line, a sum of about 700,000 francs. M. Freycinet, who is not a bourgeois director for fun, has established upon positive grounds that the State could construct railways at a cost of 200,000 francs per kilometre. The State can therefore sensibly diminish the prices of the services it exploits. It is the capitalists who profit by this reduction, because it is they, principally, who make use of them. Thus, what a number of workmen only use the postal service once or twice a year! and how very numerous are the commercial houses and industrial concerns which send out over ten and twenty l-tters a day!

State services become a means to politicians for placing their tools or dependants, and for giving good, fat sinecures to the sons in-law of the bourgeoisie. M. Cochery has accorded lucrative posts to Orleanists; among others, to the son of Senator Laboulave, the man of the ink pot.

Militants of the "Parti Ouvrier" may and must in their polemics against the public men and politicians of the capitalist class, make use of this transformation of one time private industries into State services, to show how the bourgeoisie themselves are led by the logic of events to attack their own principles, which demand that society, represented by the State, snatch no industry from private initiative. But they must not desire, and still less demand, the transformation of fresh industries into national services, and that for diverse reasons.

Because it is to the interest of the workers' party to embitter the conflicts which lacerate the capitalist class, instead of seeking to pacify them these antagonisms quicken the disorganisation of the ruling class; because nationalisation increases the corruptive power of capitalist politicians; because State employees cannot, like workers in private employ, strike and engage in a struggle with the exploiters.

The only Socialist reason that one might put forward for that transformation is that perhaps it might simplify the revolutionary work of expropriation by the workers' party. We will examine this on another occasion.

Translated by F. C. W. [TO BE CONCLUDED.]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED-

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).

Gaelic American" (New York).

British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver) The Star of the East" (Melbourne).

"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"The New World" (West Ham). "Freedom" (London).

Give a person a copy of the Socialist Stan-

DARD and you have inflicted a three-hour Socialist speech upon him. THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham),

AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM, JUNE 1st., 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

the "Dispatch"!

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, nd advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Bead Office every Tuesday at 7 30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standand,



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THE GAME OF HELL.

THE fall of the Caillaux Ministry through the disclosures of the Morocco scandal is but another lesson in the sordid nature of our masters' diplomacy. Here in England the same rotten mess is being made, and even the "Daily News," Liberal though it is, calls for the resignation of Sir Edward Grey. What childish innocence! Just as if one man, and not the whole Liberal party, is to blame. Just as if every Liberal Minister, from the days of Palmerston's intrigues with Russia, has not been the same. From the Crimea War to Majuba Hill the same old game was played.

Behind it all lurk the figures of the financial kings of England (or of capitalism), the men who come to the rescue of Governments with their money bags, the men who supply the party funds. Mr. Rothschild loaned Gladstone's Government millions at 15 per cent. interest to finance the Suez Canal and other Egyptian ventures; he thereupon was made Lord Rothschild and Gladstone made war upon a people "rightly struggling to be free," because they didn't pay the interest quickly enough.

Russia has been the scene of greater wholesale murder for the past century than perhaps any other European country. That does not prevent our Liberal Government from making secret alliances, and welcoming the bloody Czar of Now a so-called return Parliamentary visit is being made to Russia, but the swindle is already seen. For instead of a purely Parliamentary deputation, there are representatives of all the great financial interests likely to be concerned in the promoting and building of a trans-Persian railway. Behind all the treaties-"to promote better relations "-- there is merely the profit grinding commercialism of the Liberal and Tory capitalist.

As we prophesied in our December issue, Persia is to be the "happy hunting ground" of English and Russian capitalists, and every obstacle to its annexation is cast aside-hence Mr. Shuster's dismissal. The speedy influx of capital in search of plunder recalls the building of the Cape to Cairo Railway that followed the arrival of Rhodes and his fellow buccaneers in South Africa.

LIBERAL "HONOURS."

The birthday honours list is a very good example of the fraud of Liberalism. It is only a few years since they knighted Dr. Jameson, the 'hero" of the Jameson raid. Now Lionel Phillips and his colleagues, Neumann and Albu, the great South African multi-millionaires, are are to be made baronets. During "the war" the Liberals never tired of denouncing these men as rogues and adventurers, but when their poor dupes had voted them into place and power, they declared these statements to be "terminological inexactitudes."

THE MINERS' MASTERS.

death and disablement in the bowels of the earth have been met with derision when asking for security of a mere pittance. A minimum wage varying with thecost of living and hardly ever exceeding it, is said to be the "end of the industry.

Though the mineowners have been piling up huge profits-increased, too, by the strike rumours—they are leaving no stone unturned to scotch" the disaffected toilers. Idyllic pictures are appearing in the prostituted Press purporting to be the homes of the colliers, but the exaggeration and obvious lying they contain cannot but convince the reader that they are really describing the homes of the managers instead! Mr. D. A. Thomas, the Liberal head of the Cambrian Combine, is roaring and fuming like the Buil of Basham about the extortion of the miners. His fellow Liberal mineowners all follow in his train. Sir Charles MacLaren and Sir Alfred Thomas (now Lord Pontypridd), the recent recipient of "honours," are also Liberal mineowners. In fact, the Liberal party contains more of them than does the Tory party.

If matters last long enough, we may witness the same methods that have ever been used to frighten and cow the strikers. The great party "trust, tempered with prudence," will an swer the cry of the stricken shareholders by

despatching police and military.

Some "compromise" in which the workers' demands are forgotten will no doubt be the one result for some time to come. But the economic pressure, ever present will force the men again and again into these skirmishes. Until they grasp the Socialist view and wrest political supremacy from their masters very little can be And the mischievous moonshine about the power of Industrial Unionism or Syndicalism that is being taught amongst the miners will not help matters.

Preach united action by a worker's organisation built ou class lines, by all means, but disillusion yourself that even that sound econo mic action alone can give you any lasting and efficient victory. In America, where the Western Federation of Miners is strong, where miner's unions are the backbone of the Federation, you have massacre after massacre by the armed ruffians hired by the Republican Government. Tender children sweat in the most dangerous mines, and wages are but the bare cost of the toilers' subsistence.

Show the toilers the lines of class cleavage. its cause and the instrument of its perpetuation. Organise them politically for the capture of that instrument for their own purposes, that is, for the overthrow of the present social system and the establishment in its place of the Socialist Commonwealth. That and that alone is the cure for the miners' misery.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

While there is little doubt that underlying all the seething boil of excitement and conflict ing emotions which is just now sweeping over Germany, some considerable increment of real Socialist knowledge, opinion and belief exists, those who depend upon mere superficial views are prone to discern in names and numbers much deeper significance than they do in reality

In Germany the fact that every other party without exception, has from time to time openly supported the Kaiser regime, drives those who, for their own good purposes, are "agin the Government." to vote for the Social-Democratic

candidates. Thus, whilst the membership of the Social-Democratic Party there is at most 800,000, the voting for their candidates totalled 41 millions! Their candidates seek votes upon every pretext, from Free Trade to "No indirect taxation.

Though the Radicals united with the "Blue-Black Bloc" against the "Reds" at the polls in 1907, the Social-Democrats this time advised their supporters to vote Radical during the Second Ballots!

The German Socialist Party includes men like Bernstein, Von Vollmar, and David, who have opposed every principle that Socialism includes-men who openly cry out for standing alliances with the Radicals and other enemies

Amid all the piffle and lies appearing in the

Democratic Party in Germany occupies a some what similar position to that of the Liberal party here is largely true. For the Sicial Reform rubbish and anti-working class politics preached by the leaders of the Social Democrats there is very similar to the "Advanced Legislation" put forth by Lloyd George, Churchill, Ramsay Macdonald, Philip Snowdon, and the hosts of other Liberal Labour hacks here.

Knowing this only too well, we must discount very heavily the so-called Socialist victories in the recent elections in Germany. A body of supporters got together upon all manner of pretexts can only hang together so long as no important action is taken, and must fall to pieces directly a move is made in the revolutionary direction. In that day of dire disaster, woe betide those who have counted heads in the ballot and put their faith in numbers.

Only those who understand the principles of Socialism can give strength to the revolutionary army. Let ignorance march against us since our foes can turn it against us when they will.

JOTTINGS.

It is interesting now and then to take stock of the various panaceas that are being foisted on the country as the one and only method of solving the social "problem." Leaving out the various quacks belonging to the capitalist class who advocate, after all, what is not even social reform—we find a pretty fair bunch whose claim it is that they represent the worker's point of view. We have the Labour Party, bourgeois in tendency, anti-Socialist to the core, whose whole existence seems to depend upon the goodwill of the Liberals, and who are ready to snatch at anything that will give them a fresh lease of life We have the I L.P., who, just now, are kidding the workers into demanding the nationalisation of the railways, etc., quite oblivious of the fact that nationalisation of anything under the present system can only tend to accentuate the workers' position. We have the B.S.P. with its 'Britain for the British"; its queer mixture of nationalisation, municipalisation and "revolutionary" palliatives-of which the following s a delightful example.

"Socialism is only a method of extending State management, as in the Post Office, and municipal management . . . until State and municipal management become universal through the Kingdom. . . . The Government and the municipalities have proved that they can manage vast and intricate businesses, and can manage them more cheaply, more effi ciently, and more to the satisfaction of the public, than the same class of business has even been managed by private firms." (R. Blatchford in the "Clarion," 19.1.12.)

In order that the reader may discern for himself the advantages that have accrued from the Government and municipalities, all that is necessary is to acquire the child like faith of the average Clarionette, and the use of a powerful microscope!

And, lastly, we have that anarchistic importation known as "Direct Action," the benefits of which, according to Mr. Tom Mann, "have been most substantial." "By adequately reduced hours we shall solve the unemployed problem: shall for ever cure the low wage problem: and by the same means entirely solve the economic problem." ("Transport Worker" for Jan.)

Socialism, and all it implies-knowledge of the workers' position in society, based upon a scientific analysis of capitalism in all its ramifications - is useless according to Mr. Tom Mann. Therefore all we need do is to wait until this prophet on the bounce gives the word, when the workers will simply walk over and -- what? Wait and see!

And now, to add to the existing confusion, we are to have still one more "Socialist" party! According to the London correspondent of the "Daily Dispatch" (16.1.12) preparations are The great army of ill-paid workers who face | Liberal Press, the statement that the Social- being made to launch a new Socialist party, in

which "the Christian idea, will replace the aims and devices of the hooligans." This has been necessitated, we are told, by the fact that "So cialism . . . in its present crude form, embodies a grave menace to the country," its association with Syndicalism and Atheism hav-

ing given grave concern to several avowed supporters of the movement.

As a Socialist it is news to me that Socialism has any connection with Syndicatism and Athe Socialism means Socialism and nothing else. It would also be news to me to hear that Socialism could have any connection with any hristian ideal" in view of the fact that Christianity stands for the negation of all freedom of thought, fosters superstition and teaches the divinity of capitalism Moreover, it does not occur to this modest scribe that the "devices of the hooligans" are a product of this country Elsewhere in the same issue we are informed that 41 millions voted the "hooligan" ticket, despite its "crude form." Surely the joke is on

The following is from a recent issue of the "Manchester Guardian

The unskilled labourers at a small ironworks had been engaged for several months at a wage of 16s. 9d., when it occurred to some of the more enterprising spirits among them that this was not enough. A deputation was sent to the manager to say so. The manager listened, and then said: "So you think you ought to have another shilling a week, do you? Well, I want to ask you men a question. How many of you, when you get your wages on a Friday night, go straight across the road to the public house The leader of the deputation admitted, not without a little defiance in his tone, that he generally went there himself.

And how much do you spend?" "Well, I'as sixpenn'orth o' whisky and three penn'orth o' beer, reg'lar."

Oh! so your wages are not so low that you can't spend 9d. in drink the first hour after you get them? Why don't you raise your own wage by dropping the drink?

"Well," said the labourer, "if the wants to know, its like this 'ere. If I didn't get that there sixpenn'orth o' whisky and threepenn'orth o' beer I shouldn't 'ave the bloomin' cheek to go 'ome to my old woman and ask 'er to keep the family together on the money I gets from

"Why should not the present crude relations between capital and labour give way to a science of ethics founded on honesty to each other, a brothrehood founded on affection?" (Sir W H. Lever, Port Sunlight, 1.1.12.)

How touching! Honesty between capital and labour! Affection for the robber by the robbed Honesty in a system that could not exist were it not for its robbery basis!

Lever himself admits this by suggesting that it "give way" to a system founded on a basis When the present relations between of honesty. capital and labour give way, labour will take possession of those things that are held by Sir W. H. Lever and his class, namely, the means of life. And when that time comes (for come i surely will), neither Lever nor the other capital ist exploiters will be consulted. "A bond of affection"! Bah! it stinks of hypocrisy. The workers have only to look around them to-day to see where the affection comes in. The only "affection" they are able to discern is akin to that existing between the bullock and the

TOM SALA.

ATTENTION!

We are asked to announce that a Public Meeting will be held under the auspices of our Battersea Branch, in the Large Hall of the Latchmere Baths, Latchmere Road, Battersea. on Sunday night, February 11th, at 8. Doors open at 7.30.

Speaker: F. Vickers. Subject: "Why We Oppose All Other Parties."

Admission and all seats free. Questions and discussion invited.

AGGRESSIVE LANCASHIRE

RARELY has our "free" Press had such an innings as during the recent cotton lock-out in Lancashire (and during the Parliamentary recess, too). Thousands of columns of servile paid trash have been written "about it and about." Let us sift out the wheat from the chaff, and see what really is the position of the workers in Lancashire. Children leave school to work halftime in the weaving mills at the age of twelve, and full time at about thirteen. After "tenting," or helping a four or six loom weaver, they ge first two looms to look after, then in the course of time, three and four looms. Four is the usual number - when six are minded a "tenter," or help, is necessary.

The average earnings per loom (given by Wood in his "History of Wages in the Cotton Trade") are 6s. 6d. per loom per week for a two loom weaver; 5s. 11d. per loom per week for a three loom weaver; 6s. per loom per week for a four loom weaver; but many have help to pay for. Weavers having happy family connections or other exceptional help may become overlookers and earn 45s, or 50s, weekly, conditioned by the earnings of the weavers. The overlooker paid on the weavers' earnings, is thus tempted to keep production up to the maximum.

A large number of weavers are women, and when married many continue their employment. The sight of women taking out infants to their nurse at half past five on a winter's morning is an incident of family life which only an anti Socialist can appreciate. In Burnley, out of the total number of married women and widows. 33.8 per cent. are occupied in various industries The average earnings per loom before mentioned only applies to times of regular employment, times come, when many looms are stop ped and fewer hours worked. Taking all in all. the outlook for a lad or lass when school is left behind, is, in Lancashire, much the drab, dull outlook of the worker the capitalist world over

Beaming Radical politicians gloat over the extravagant prosperity of the weavers compared with the poverty of their forebears. Let us briefly examine the course of events.

In Lancashire, says Toynbee, "we can trace step by step the growth of the capitalist employer. At first we see, as in Yorkshire, the weaver furnishing himself with warp and weft, which he worked up in his own house and brought himself to market." By degrees he became dependent on the merchants at Manchester, who gave him out warp and raw cotton. Finally the merchant would get thirty or forty looms in a town—then came the great mechani cal inventions.

The times when the weaver fully or partially controlled his product were decidedly his golden age. Down to the year 1810 the hand-loom weaver waxed fat; then the power loom caused a catastrophe. Even in 1833 the hand loom weavers out-numbered the power-loom weavers by three to one. Says Mr. Wood: all the records agree that an extraordinary fall in prices paid and amounts earned by hand loom weavers took place between the early years of the century and 1830-40. In Lancashire in 1806, according to the same authority, there existed

80.000 to 100,000 factory operatives earning 9s 6d. to 10s 6d. per week.

165,000 hand-loom weavers earning 18s. to 24s. per week.

From the year 1806 down a rapid change took place in the earnings of the hand-loom weavers, a reduction in wages of 50 per cent. taking place in 25 years. The competition was drastic, and it was not until 1840 that the turn was taken. and not until the year 1890 that the wage level (nominal wage) of 1806 was again reached truly a century of progress for the workers.

Besides changes in piece wages (for over 30) years stationary) there are two factors affecting | c ntres; in Nelson, Accrington, Blackburn and the wages of weavers: the speeding-up of the looms and the increase in the number tended. These factors become more important if we remember that in the year 1901 over 350,000 | demned their "delegates." Unfortunately, many fewer persons were employed in the textile trades than in 1851; a diminution contemporary with a constant increase in the quantity of textiles produced. If we take the cotton trade alone we

find a slight increase in the number employed, an increase, however, negligible compared with the vast difference in the amount of stuff produced. This is the truth: after a century of mechanical change we have not equalled the conditions existing prior to that change: now power-loom production is established the worker is in many ways in an inferior position to that of the weaver in the palmy days of the handloom. If it is not so I should be pleased to see some textile union leader haul forth some facts

To come to the lock-out, during the past year an attempt has been made to bring non-unionists into the ranks of the textile unions. Oral persuasion failed in some cases, and the weavers at an Accrington mill refused to work with nonunionists. The reply of the masters was to lock out the bulk of the weavers in Lancashire. Now what were the masters' motives for their action? Were they anxious that a few non-unionists should have freedom or license or liberty or some other abstract concept? Reverse the position and imagine that but ten per cent, of the weavers were in the union, and that the ninety per cent. non-unionists threatened to cease work unless the unionists abandoned the union - would then the bosses have prated about freedom and liberty? It is not at all likely. The unionists would have to surrender, for at such a time, in the midst of a trade boom, the mills would never have closed, and it would have been left to the philosophers to prate about liberty. So in the case of the lock out it cannot be possible that the bosses were much bothered about the few non unionists.

In searching for reasons for the lock out it is ecessary to ask: Were the masters opposed to the trade unions on principle? Would they not rather negotiate with the unions than with unorganised workers? The following quotation from the "Manchester Guardian" of Jan. 20th the day following the settlement, is apt here 'Comparatively few employers could be found to deny, or even question, the advantage which they as employers have gained from the regulation of wages and the general systemisation of conditions of employment which their own associations and the unions have jointly brought about. We believe that a great majority of employers wish the unions to be strong, if for no other reason than that they shall be able to pre vent the minority of what may be described as non-union employers from competing unfairly with them by paying wages less than the standard rates."

The following gem is from the "Blackburn Daily Telegraph" of Jan. 19th. The manufacturers "have a direct interest in the effective working of the employees' unions, which they have no desire to see smashed, as they operate effectively in keeping prices at a uniform rate. The absence of these organisations would result in certain firms underpaying, to the detriment of all fair competition

Such citations could be reproduced in abunlance from the capitalist Press at the time of

It is the writer's opinion that the cotton capitalists do not desire to smash the unions so long as they retain their present servile position Then why the lock out? Why this apparently disproportionate, huge lock out in reply to a strike at a single mill? Does it not look as if it were a case of using a steam hammer to smash a nut, even if there was danger of an extension of the strike? The truth is probably this -that within the Lancashire unions exists a militant section, and it is this minority which has taken the initiative on the non-unionist question and forced action upon the supine majority in the unions. The capitalists are not afraid of trade union leaders of the old school, but, rightly or wrongly, they look with suspicion on the activities of a section of the workers.

The lock-out was settled on terms that left the weavers in a worse position than before the nonunionist agitation. When the terms were known meetings of protest were held in many weaving other towns vigorous language was used anent the terms obtained; a majority of those who take an interest in the working of the unions conare insensitive to humiliation by employers, and it is such the "delegates" lean upon for a mechanical support.

This minority I speak of are not Socialists:

they are no doubt reformers an a sould disavow the class war. But the silly he but of I oking upon capitalism as a thing that was in the be ginning, is now, and ever shall be, is fading away. A more rebellious, if unformed spirit animates many of the workers. It is this which

Many factors are at work which will in the near future bring these operatives to see that Socialism is the only way out of the mire. Their stationary wages, the increase in the cost of living, the failure of the Labour Party, the "flitting" of their leader. Shackleton, the obvious permanency of their proletarian condition under the present system—all such factors must tend to compel the workers in Lancashire to make the war against the bosses political besides industrial; and permanent, not haphazard and fitful. JOHN A. DAWSON.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

REPLY TO H. OSBORNE.

Capitalism to-day extends over the major portion of the habitable globe, and includes practically all those territories usually termed nations." Hence it is international.

Capitalism is controlled by the capitalist class The establishment of Socialism is the historic mission of the working class; but Socialism can only be established by abolishing capitalism. From this it follows that the interests of the capitalist class are in direct opposition to those of the working class. These two classes, as classes, have no national boundries-not only because they exist wherever capitalism reigns, but also because both capitalists and workers wander all over the globe, the one in search of profits, the other in search of a living, through the medium of work.

To establish Socialism the working class have to wrest power from the capitalist class, and therefore the fight for Socialism, and its establishment, must be international.

The I.L.P. is not a Socialist organisation. Its leaders deny the existence of the class struggle outlined above, and, being anxious to retain capitalism under the "State" form by munici palising and nationalising the various industries they merely extend the error of their funda mental misconceptions when they add the stunid statement that Socialism could be established in one country alone.

JOHN BRIGHT ON ADULTERATION.

J.B. (Manchester) asks where John Bright made his famous defence of adulteration. quote the following extract from a speech deli vered in his capacity of President of the Board of Trade, on March 5, 1861, in replying to a demand that food inspectors should be appointed.

"My own impression with regard to this adulteration is, that it arises from the very great and inevi table competition in business. . . . It is quite impossible that you should have the oversight of the country by inspectors, and that you can organise a body of persons to go into shops to buy sugar, pickles, cayenne, to get them analysed and then to raise complaints against the shopkeepers and bring them before the magistrates. If men in their private every hour of the day, life would not be worth hav ing, and I should recommend them to go to another country, where they would not be subject to such

A DEBATE!

F. VICKERS, representing the SOCIAL-IST PARTY OF GR. BRITAIN,

Rev. G. S. POOLE, Vicar of St. James's,

Gravesend,

WILL DEBATE ON WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 28th, AT 8 O'CLOCK, P.M.,

ST. JAMES' CHURCH INSTITUTE.

Subject: That Socialism alone will Benefit the Works ing Class, and that Christianity will not

For tickets apply to Gravesend Branch Secry.

THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Some of our opponents are either most superficial readers or given to deliberately misrepresenting statements that have appeared in the Socialist STANDARD by selecting a particular paragraph from an article which, taken by itself, has the appearance of being contradictory to our Declaration of Principles, while they conveniently ignore the remainder of the article, which would invariably put a very different complexion on the paragraph in question.

One such dishonestly selected passage is being perambulated before our supporters and others, who are misled simply because they have not the whole article before them.

The paragraph appears in the September 1911 issue of this journal, in an article under heading Strikers Struck: How the Railway Servants were Betrayed." It is as follows:

"What was the position? The Companies had bluffed and failed. They were surprised at the effectiveness of the strike. The Government had bluffed and failed. They had thrown the whole military might of the nation against the strikers, and the only result had been to demonstrate the weakness of their position. The crude incapacity of their leader, whose traditional remedy for every difficult situation is butchery, had got them into a blind alley. They had not another move left.'

Our opponents the Industrialists and Anarchists, are now declaring that this is an admission of the superior power of the workers on the industrial field as compared with the political field. But where had the Government bluffed and failed? In what way had they demonstrated the weakness of their position? Our crafty antagonist does not tell you that, although the article explains it.

But possibly the present reader has the issue in question at hand, in which case, if he will turn to the fifth page, and the third column thereof, he will find the answer to the question about half way down the column.

But for the benefit of those who are unable to peruse the original article, I cull the following

"Let the workers learn from this the futility of General Strike tactics. The recent case was not a General Strike in any sense of the word. The Government's mistake was in taking measures called for by a General Strike. But in the chaos, and brutality, and bloodshed, and suffering, ay, and failure, of those few hours is a great lesson for the working class. The shade of anarchy, the spectre of starvation, in the adjacent background, did not threaten the masters, but brooded over the workers. On them was to fall all the horrors of the situation. Just because the issue was not worth either the launching or the bloody suppression of a General Strile, the railwaymen's strike was good for more than it brought them ; but where the issue from the workers' standpoint is worth a General Strike, it is from the capitalists' standpoint

worth crushing out in a Niagra of blood. "That the master class will always have ample powers at their command for this purpose while they hold the political machinery they will make sure, and that they will use them the thirty thousand victims of the Commune massacres warn us. And again the need for wresting the control of the armed forces from them by political action, by voting Socialists and Socialists only, into Parliament, is demonstrated.

But to further insure against misunderstanding I commend the whole article to the careful perusal of the reader.

A rather remarkable speech was delivered by Baron de Forest in the Commons debate on international diplomacy - remarkable for the truth it contained. For truth is quite foreign to the average Liberal when it (as it usually does) inds to his detriment. He is reported (by 'Reynolds's Newspaper'') to have said:

These [wars] were generally entirely international and cosmopolitan, and in no way did their gain affect the citizens of any one country. 'In every country,' he continued, 'the machi-nery of the State, the naval and military

powers of the State, are employed to secure privileges which are beneficial only to the few, and which in the majority of cases are actually harmful to most of the people, and have to be maintained first by money and then by lives in the last resource. Everywhere, if you erect privileges, you necessarily create a cause of strife. The interests of the privileged citizens of one nation clash with the interests of the privileged citizens of another.

February, 1912.

'At once there is an appeal to national prejudice. Each nation is persuaded that its national interests are in danger, and the masses of the two people of the two nations, who have really no interest in the quarrel, are hurled at each other's throats for the sake of men they have less in common with than they have with one another, and who only try to exploit them in war as in many cases they exploit them in peace. A great many people in the constituences outside are beginning to realise that this is so. They are beginning to see that these international differences are not between nation and nation, but are between individuals who are only using the nations for their own ends.'

How's that, Blatchford? Between the working class of all countries there exists an identity of interests which is diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalist class of each and every country.

But what have our Liberal opponents to say now? They have most emphatically denied that 'the machinery of the State, the naval and military powers of the State are employed to secure privileges which are beneficial only to a few' (capitalists). When thieves fall out the truth is metimes told.

But do we, because we are conscious of the fact that the machinery of the State is employed for the benefit of the capitalist class, do we abjure political action? By no means; for to quote our Declaration of Principles,

"As the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise, consciously and politically, for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.'

There is some excuse for the bold baron speaking the truth, for we are told that this was his maiden speech. But if he continues in this strain his career in the Liberal party will be of

The Anarchist conception of the realisation of the Social Revolution is exemplified in the following:

"The fatal defect in the reasoning of the S.P.G.B. is their apparent inability to comprehend the conditions of electioneering and Parliamentary tactics, and the environment of bourgeois politics generally. The leaders of the party could only act similarly to the men they criticise had they to take their places, or they would be obliged to leave the Parliamentary arena in disgust and defiance. Of course, that method results in compromise, shuffling on matters of principle, and other unsatisfactory consequences; even in many instances, betrayal of the workers' interests. Without tactics of this kind the State cannot be 'captured' - and then the State captures the miracle workers instead."

So then, these are the tactics we must adopt. Possibly this explains why the Anarchist at times drops his antagonism to political action and runs as a Progressive or Labour candidate.

The suggestion that it is impossible for the Socialist to be elected to Parliament without adopting the present-day "electioneering" tactics, with the inevitable result of compromise, shuffling of principle, and betrayal of workingclass interests, implies that it is futile to attempt to educate the workers to a true conception of their class position. The Auarchist, therefore, imagines the Social Revolution will be accomp lished by a non class-conscious proletariat following certain leaders.

The education of the workers may be a tedious process, but it is none the less essential for the achievement of our object.

DOMESTIC SERVITUDE OR SOCIALISM?

THE signs of social change can be easily noticed and interpreted because of their present pro-One of the most distinct is the parasitism that makes its presence felt everywhere to day. The amount of wealth wrung out of the wage-slaves has increased so greatly and so rapidly that it has enabled the plutocracy to run their many residences with a magnificence and display greater than ever before. What was considered lavish and luxurious a generation ago is put in the shade by the prevailing osten tation and splendour. The rich vie with one another in their extravagance.

A remarkable feature of modern society is the small number of the population who actually engage in wealth production. The percentage of the population who are really producing is declining daily, and the Reports of the Government Census of Production have proved it.

The use of improved machinery and more scientific and economical methods has made it possible to produce wealth in superabundance, and with fewer "hands" than were formerly required. The International Cotton Ring have again and again ordered "short time" for their employees because they found that with modern highly developed machinery a few hours a day per operative was sufficient.

The operatives have been told often that the prospect for the future is that the cotton trade. instead of absorbing the increasing population, will have to discard a large number. Thus they have been brought to see hunger and want forced upon them on account of the very improvements their class have made and their skill has put in motion. And the same is true of other industries.

Hence we see that even to the women the industrial departments are being closed - to say nothing of men. Those shut out have therefore to become the personal servants of and attendants upon the parasite class that has profited by all the progress we see around us. The workers have had to see their daughters and sisters, and even their mothers, condemned to lifelong drudgery and useless, monotonous toil, pander ing to the idle whims of a corrupt class.

It may be truly said that the domestics suffer from all the evils of serfdom without having any of its advantages. They suffer the complete personal subjection of serfdom without having the security of the serf. They have to face unemployment and insecurity of livelihood just

as do the rest of the working class. Endless work and lack of leisure soon tell upon their victims. From bright, happy girls they grow into dull, jaded, miserable women haunted by all the fears that a wage slave alone can know. Their employers exact slavish obedi ence, and while they enjoy all the pleasures that centuries of social effort have made possible, the poor "slaveys" must toil till they are ready to drop with fatigue. While the employers idle and useless social pests-live upon the best food and have the greatest variety of viands, their servants have to exist upon the most plain and scanty fare. "The leavings are good enough

Not only do the domestics have to work for these drones, but, even worse, they have to live with them too. Only those who have come into close contact with them can know what this means. They are under surveillance the whole twenty four hours round, the constant victims of the changing moods, the irritability and ennui of their employers.

The domestics see their mistresses taking part in the twentieth century "intellectual" movement of bourgeois women, voicing hypocritical cries of "Woman's Freedom," and the like. This movement, so dear to the Fabian and other fatuous dilletanti, has nothing to offer the servant. While the employing section delight in picturing the achievements of the New Woman, the domestics feel economic pressure increasing and becoming more unbearable day by day. The employers demand more qualifications, and inquire more closely into the "character" of servants than formerly. They must be nimble, alert, experienced, docile, healthy, and above all. willing to accept wages which are little more

Though their mistresses talk about "the awakening of woman," they impose the observance of all the cld bated forms upon their unfortunate slaves. The idiotic "cap"- that badge of servitude - has still to be worn; and it is as sure a sign of their slavery as was the neck ring of the helots of Carthage. It shows their chattel character just as the stan p upon the sean an's wrist shows him to be a creature of

Forced into constant touch with their employers, and always under the strictest restraint, t has naturally resulted that domestics generally lack even the slightest consciousness of their interests as members of a class with interests quite opposed to the capitalists.

Though neary are turning away from the path of demestic servitude they do not fare better. A large number of the girls are becoming typists, yet the stampede from "service" to shorthandtypewriting has only served to reduce the latter ecupation to the level of the former. As the 'Daily Chronicle' recently pointed out, the typists are sufficiently numerous to meet all demands, and the numbers floating in now will so increase the supply that wages will fall lower than ever.

The mistresses continually prate about the difficulty of getting servants. What they mean is servants sufficiently devoid of feeling to stay in one place long. Servants continually change their places in the hope that the change will bring relief. The servitude is so onerous that a long spell in one situation ruins them completely. The slightest disobedience or fancied fault provides the mistress with an excuse for dismissing the servant, and often spiteful mistresses make it difficult for domestics to get other situations by giving "bad" characters

The threat of a "bad" character is often sufficient to reduce the servant to humility and surrender. It is not surprising that of those who chance the consequences and seek other places some have drifted to that horror of horrors, the street." And often the "bad" character has been the immediate cause

Look at the position of those sentenced to do mestic servitude for the term of their natural lives. What chance is there of their development in the unchanging round of enervating toil, the long hours of comparative isolation? These explain the cramped intellect and the morbid sentimentality that typify the domestic. The short spells of release from work is time snatched from sleep's allotted span. Hence they patronise the sensational, flashy novel-the literature" of the 20th century civilisation. This insipid, sloppy rubbish is the mental food of the modern Cinderella. Is it a matter for amazement that domestics are, more than any other section of the working class perhaps, the sheep-like followers of their employers' dictates in all matters that should arouse their sturdy independence and self-reliance? Their menial position saps their independence and courage, so that combination among them has been taboo. But a recent sign of the times has been the formation of a trade union in their ranks. True, it hasn't gained many converts, but still, it moves.

While as Socialists we welcome every sign of revolt against oppression on the part of the workers, we hold that revolt is useless and dangerous unless based upon a knowledge of the cause of their condition and its remedy.

"The Domestic Workers' ! nion has been busy acquainting mistresses of their desire to really get them better servants and to make the relations between mistress and maid harmoni ous!" Their objects include as a first proposal. To raise the status of Domestic Work to the level of other industries"! What a blind ignorant suggestion! Other industries involve misery and hardship for their workers, though they assume slightly different forms. It seems to fulfil the Anti Socialist cry of "Reducing all to one dead level."

The other "objects" are equally foolish and futile. The servants have to understand that useful though a real union may be to them from

the union might ever even become, while this system of capitalist class monopoly of wealth continues, it can merely make rules to guide them in selling their energy and standardising their poverty. It cannot end their terrible servitude. To do that they must combine with the rest of their class, whatever their rank, office or station, into a political party with Socialism as

In the co-operative commonwealth that Socialism will herald in, servitude domestic, civil, or penal- will disappear. Then only will the women of the race have a chance to live a full life, unham, ered by the cares and anxieties that now distract them.

There is plenty of work awaiting you, toiling sisters all. There are your fellow slaves to be aroused, and educated in the principles of Socialism, and organised for the fight for the emancipation of our class

Defend upon it, unless we enrol the women while they are young, and before they have completely fallen a prey to their employers' wiles, we but make our task harder in the future. A. Kohn.

BY THEIR WORKS YE SHALL KNOW THEM.

Those politicians who are out for political fraud, must, in the very nature of things, persue their object by means of fraud. The explanation is that since they wish to practise fraud upon their victims, they must always cloak the truth for fear their dupes may become enlightened. On the other hand the honest politician has no use for the dupe. The realisation of his object demands that everyone who stands with him shall do so in knowledge and understanding. Therefore when trickery is resorted to, it shows that those who use it depend upon ignorance, and hence are engaged upon fraudulent enterprise. These few words are sufficient introduction to the following.

"Tooting .- At a meeting held at the S.D.P. Rooms on Saturday, December 30, the following resolution was unanimously carried, members of the I.L.P. and S.P.G.B. being present, although these organisations, unfortunately, were not officially represented: 'That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that a branch of the B.S.P. be formed in the Tooting Ward of the Borough of Wandsworth, and urges the several Socialist organisations in the said ward to take steps to wind up their affairs, in order to unite in said branch, and also calls upon the assistance of all unattached Socialists.

"Justice," Jan. 6th

As this is clearly an implication that members of the S.P.G.B. were present at the time the resolution was put to the meeting, and that they therefore acquiesced in it, the following letter was sent to "Justice." It is significant that it was refused publication.

> 144, Eswyn Road, Tooting, S.W. Jan. 14, 1912.

To the Editor of "Justice."

Sir, -Referring to a report in last week's issue of "Justice," of a public meeting held at the S.D.P. Rooms, Tooting, on Saturday, the 30th ult., with the object of forming a local branch of the British Socialist Party, I, as the only n ember of the Socialist Party of Great Britain present on that occasion, wish to point out that that being the case, your report was incorrect inasmuch as it says "members" of the S.P.G.B. were present I should also like to add that I only arrived toward the end of the meeting, after the resolution referred to had been put, so it is obviously incorrect and misleading to state that members of the S.P.G.B. were present and the resolution was carried unanimously.

I trust you will insert this letter in your next issue and so remove any misconception arising through the inaccuracy of your report.

Yours, etc., D. B. CAMPBELL

TO WEST LONDONERS.

All those agreeing with the aims and methods of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and living in or near the Marylebone district, are day to day in helping them to fix their terms invited to communicate with A. Kohn (new with their employers, these very terms are but a address), 24, Carburton Street, W., with a view fixing of their slavery. Strong and sound though | to forming a Marylebone branch. Do it now

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR FEBRUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

			,		
SUNDAYS.		4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head Finsbury Park Forest Gate, Sebert Road Ilford (station) Islington, Higbury Corner Manor Park, Earl of Essex Paddington, Prince of Wales Bubb-hewington, Rilly Rd., Balsten. Tooting Broadway	11.30 7.30 3.0 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 11.30 11.30	H. Joy J. Fitzgerald J. Fitzgerald A. Jacobs C. Parker A. Hoskyns C. Ginger A. Hoskyns A. Pearson T. W. Allen A. Barker	A. Barker E. Fairbrother A. Anderson C. Parker A. Jarobs R. Fox J. Halls T. W. Allen J. Halls C. Ginger E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe T. W. Allen A. Hoskyns F. W. Stearn F. J. Rourke J. Halls C. Parker R. Fox A. Kohn J. Fitzgerald H. Cooper	H. Cooper H. Joy A. Anderson A. Jacobs. T. W. Allen J. Fitzgerald F. J. Rourke A. Hoskyns R. Fox J. Halls H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. Walthamstow, Church Hill Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hil	7.30 11.30 7.30 8.0 1 11.30 7.30	H. Joy F. J. Rourke T. W. Allen A. Jacobs J. Halls R. Fox	• A. Barker A. Hoskyns J. Fitzgerald A. Ho-kyns F. J. Rourke A.W.Pearson	E. Fairbrother R. Fox H. Joy A. W. Pearson A. Jacobs C. Ginger	A. Barker T. W. Allen A. Anderson J. Fitzgerald A. Hoskyns A. W. Pearson

TURSDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30. WRDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8. THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd, 8. Copenhagen St., Caledonian Rd., N.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham. St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman. Sec., 2, Burleigh Honse, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—J. Holmes, Sec., 124, Penwith road, Earlsfield. Branch meets at Marsh's Coffee Rocms, corner of Treeport-st. and Garratt-le., alternate Sats. 8-11 p.m.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

BDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street,

FULHAM.—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to W. Wragg, Denton Hospital, Gravesend.

ILFORD.-E. Lock, Sec., 26, Jersey-rd. Branch meets alternate Sundays All communications to

ISLINGTON .- S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road, Uppe rHolloway, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N. MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st.,
Manchester. Branch meets at Lockhart's Cafe,
opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, every
2nd. and 4th. Monday at 8. Public invited.

NOTTINGHAM .- All communications to branch Secretary, pro. tem., at Head office.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., 189, Portnall-rd. Branch meets Thurs., at 8.30 p.m. at 14 Great Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W. PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secry, 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA. - Communications to Secy. Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—Communications to T. W Lobb, 42, Oldfield-rd., Stoke Newington. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. TOOTING.-W. Walters, Sec., 7, Kenlor Road

Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction. TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd.,

Tottenham. Rooms open every evening. WALTHAMSTOW.—Communications to Secry., 5, Church Hill, Walthamstow, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every

Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b. and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagism of interests, manifesting itself as a class. struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will nvolve the emancipation of 'II mankind without listinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of

he working-class itself. That as the machinery of government, includ-ing the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government. national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,

aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of he working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class. the party seeking working-class emancipation. must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, there ore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other politica? arties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the vorking-class of this country to muster under is banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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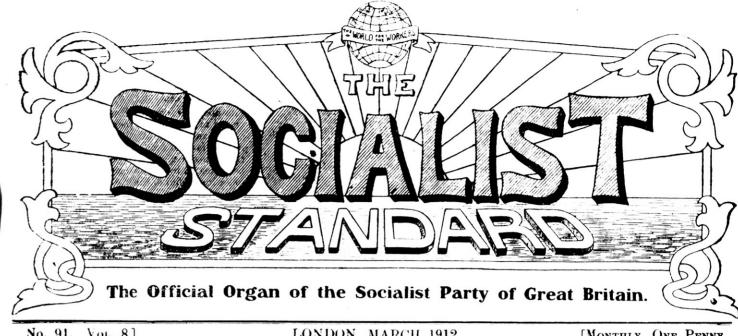
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LONDON. MARCH 1912.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

RATES AND TAXES. DO THEY FALL UPON THE WORKING CLASS?

This is a question often raised, but seldom | they cannot be kept working. drawing a correct answer. It is, however, very important for the working class to be clear The Importance about it, otherwise they may be led to act against their

of real interests. During municipal electhe Subject.

tions, for instance, the Progressives, Moderates, and "Labour" candidates stand for "lower rates," and tell the workers that this will benefit them, while in Parliamentary elections the Free Traders predict an awful future for the toilers, should the Tariff Reformers succeed in placing a tariff on imports. Thus the impression is created that the workers pay the rates and taxes, and that a reduction or an increase will affect them

The Socialist, however, ignores, these superficial but plausible theories and examines the facts of the case.

Rates and taxes are imposed to cover the cost of local and national government. The employing class,—the possessors of property.—in order to maintain their existence as a ruling class, must pay the various charges incurred by employing an army, navy, and police force. The ever-growing body of officials they appoint; the numerous departments they have to run to make smooth the working of capitalist commerce; the interest on their "National" Debt heaped up by the cost of past wars: all these lave to be paid, and the problem ever facing our masters iswhich section of the propertied class is to provide the money?

The amount of taxation has risen by leaps and bounds, until to-day the Budget alone accounts for two hundred million pounds!

The employing, or capitalist, class, though face to face with the workers they are as one, are composed of many sections, differing in their day-to-day interests.

Right through the history of taxation the

spectacle has been seen of one section of the propertied class trying to shift "the burden of taxation" on to another class, and the question in many minds is: Can they shift it on to the working class?

We answer, no! The working class do not own property. They exist alone by selling their energy (their power to labour) to the employing class, the owners of the means of production.

The employers take the whole of the wealth produced by the working class, merely giving back to the workers on an average, enough to maintain them in a condition to

go on producing wealth. and Taxes This portion which is given to tea, sugar, and flour merchants, have all risen the workers—when their masters find it profitable to employ them - is like the fuel put into the furnace of an engine's boiler, or the food given to the horse. It is the indispensable material without which

Clearly, then, the expense of carrying on their Government must be borne by our masters themselves. The workers' income on the average is but

little more than a pound a week per family, as shown by the inquiries of Booth, Rowntree, and other authorities. Obviously, then, they have no margin left out of which to pay the rates and taxes. The master class—the owners of the land,

factories, railways, etc.- have left for themselves more than two-thirds of the total wealth produced, and these huge spoils, therefore, form the fund out of which they must pay for the upkeep of this system.

These spoils are divided amongst the various sections of the ruling class- the landlords, the financiers, the brewers and distillers, the manufacturers of goods for the "home" market and for abroad

That section of them controlling the political machine seek to raise revenue from the other sections. Thus to-day the Liberals, faced with the need for more ships and armanicuts to retain and extend their territory and increase the market for their goods, have turned to the owners of real estate (land) for a contribution towards the cost of government.

The brewers and publicans, too, form a favourite source of revenue; but, in the long run, every section of the employing class has to bear part of the expense incurred in arranging the robbery of the working class.

Just as a body of brigands makes Explanation its members yield part of their Wanted. booty to cover the cest of the weapons, et ... they use, so our masters have to pay for the institutions and forces they employ to keep the workers in

Those who believe that the working class pay all rates and taxes must explain why various sections of the capitalist classorganise powerful societies to resist taxation.

subjection.

Why did the landowners pour thousands of pounds into such bodies as the Budget Protest League and other tax-resisting organisations? The claim of the Free Trader and "Labour"

politician, that the consumer always pays the tax, is seen to be false, for if the owners could simply raise prices, they would not spend time and money in fighting the tax.

Exactly the same thing happens wherever any kind of "indirect" taxatien is imposed. The brewers and distillers, tobacco manufacturers. in revolt against taxation, and have used a great

deal of their profits in organising resistance to it. Those who think that the workers pay the rates and taxes betray a supreme ignorance of the determining factor in the prices of con n.odities. What is this determining factor?

The price of an article is immediately regulated by the demand for it and the supply available. But these ups and downs are but the result of the

Determines higgling of the market, and the Prices. price always hovers round a certain centre. How is this basic price, this mean of the fluctuations, fixed?

The answer is, by the amount of human energy needed to produce the articles under modern methods. Prices change, they rise and fall without relation to taxation.

We are often met by questions like the following. "Did not the price of sugar rise owing to an increased tax upon it?"

As a matter of simple fact the rise in prices, and also their fall, are to be explained upon every other ground but that of changing taxes. Questions like the above presuppose that the capitalists can charge what they like, but actually they are governed by economic laws just like any other section of society. The sugar tax is a case in point. In 1908 the tax on sugar was reduced from 4s, 2d, per cwt, to 1s, 10d. Did the price of sugar fall? It rose as much as ½d. perAb. almost immediately. Even our befogging Liberal Party had to admit this, for Arthur Sherwell, M.P., comments on it in his "Four Years of Liberalism.

1902 Sir Michael Hicks Beach imposed a tax of 1s. per quarter on wheat, but instead of the price of bread rising generally, a rise was the exception. The Budget of 1909 provided a good instance of the truth of our view. At first the brewers and publicans relied upon the campaign of the Licensed Victuallers Protection Association, who bitterly denounced the taxes. When that failed to achieve their purpose, flaring posters announced to the working man that "Your beer will cost you more." A thinking worker might well ask himself the question: "Why do they fight the proposed tax if it is merely a matter of shifting it on to the working-man consumer by raising the price?" And as that very agitation showed, they merely use the increased taxation as a pretext for getting an increased

With all "indirect" taxation you find the same feature. The brewers and publicans, like all other capitalists, get as much as the market When additional taxation is levied they use that to test the market. When they found that the working class could not really

afford to pay the taxes, or, in Rates are other words, the demand for Levied liquer dropped, they went back on Property. to the old prices- a practical price of the Socialist theory.

With tolacco the same thing exists. Many

firms, such as Wills, announced that despite the Budget tolacco duties, their prices would remain the same. With some brands of proprietary articles, of course, prices have risen, for the Budget happened to afford a fine excuse for raising their prices.

& But in the tobacco trade, as in many another the widespread and increasing combination among the manufacturers is the chief reason why they are able to maintain increased prices.

For competition provides a foil against monopoly prices, but even combinations and trusts have to beware of driving the consumers to substitutes for their goods.

Combination is a far more effective factor in influencing prices than is taxation, but the worker must always remember that prices in general are determined by the labour at present needed to produce articles, and that even the changes caused by trusts and combinations are alone explained by the Marxian labour theory of

With rates the same holds good. Rates are levied on property and have to be paid by those The truth of this is shown by the fact that those who cry out for "lower rates" are the propertied class. Hence place-hunting candidates in municipal contests court the votes of property by swearing to "save the rates."

Who is it belongs to the local Ratepavers' Associations? Workingmen? No. property owners to a man-though, of course, they inculcate the idea that the workers pay the rates for the purpose of getting the toilers to fight their battles for them, Under the false nction of having a common interest in "saving the rates" many a toiler has been decoyed into his master's fold. Our Tory, Liberal, and "Labour' enemies are always saying that lower rates mean lower rents and rice rersa. Really, practically the opposite is the case. For rents are determined from day to day by the demand for accommodation in a district and the amount

When a landowner has houses erected in a locality, the motive actuating the purchaser of those houses would be, what are the chances of letting? The rents of the houses are not influenced by the rates because, however high the rates may be, the rents cannot be raised if there is a small demand for accommodation there. If the rents are raised, it is because the increasing demand there enables a higher rent to be charged, whatever the rates may be

It is true, of course, that here and there you find a district where it is the custom for the tenants to arrange to pay the rates. But this is only a matter of convenience, for the rents and rates together approximate to the usual inclusive rental for such accommdation.

Even in these cases the opposite of what is generally believed happens. For where the rates are low the demand for houses increases, and with the increasing demand the rents rise, and thus cancel what is saved in the lower rates.

Hence we see that in every case the demand for and the supply of house-room, and not rates. determines rentals.

Instance after instance can be cited, such as West Ham and Poplar, where you have rising rates and falling rents.

In fact, the rise of the former helps the fall of the latter. The high rates there cause the large firms, etc., to seek fresh quarters, and the resulting slump in property causes lower rents

Thus our view is amply demonstrated by the facts of the case. But let us quote an admission by our Free Trade opponents. Radical Reynolds in a leader on the subject, rays:

"Every reduction in rates which is brought about by grants in aid from the National Exchequer or by transferring burdens from the local to the national authority, ultimately goes into the pockets of the landlords. Rents rise in proportion as rates are reduced by such means. Where rates are small the tenant can afford to pay a higher rent." -- (July 10, 1910.)

The working class, therefore, should not waste their time seeking lower rates and taxes. The question for them is: "How long shall the slavery and robbery of our class continue?"

Let our masters settle amongst themselves their quarrel about the expenses of the robbery. The working-class mission is to stop the robbery and to do that they must unite with the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Its object is Socialism, and its method is revolution

THE LAST MEETING OF THE COMMUNE.

By EDOURD VAILLANT.

In 1908 Vaillant gave the following account of the last assembly of the remnant of the Commune on May 27th, 1871 at Belleville, a workingclass quarter of Paris.

The details of that meeting are very little known, and a description by one of the actors in that last episode of Bloody Week will therefore be read with lively interest.

We were compelled, with Parent, to whom the military command had been entrusted in succession to Varlin, to abandon all hope of organising the defence. The pavilion and garden at the right extremity of the rue Haxo, near the fortifications, were abandoned; and the centre and direction of the resistance had been transferred on the Saturday to the town hall of the 20th District, then situate in the rue de Belleville, opposite the church. Ranvier and Trinquet, the elected representatives of the 20th District, seconded by several of their colleagues, made such arrangements for the transfer as were

The town hall was encumbered by a crowd eagerly seeking news. But all the militants. forced back there by the defeat, were still animated by the same communard spirit, and not a word of weakness or of discord was uttered. Optimistic, but false, news came at intervals to revive hope; nevertheless, the forebodings of final defeat were accumulating. The agents of Versailles hid themselves less carefully. They were taken to the town hall, and, avowing spontaneously their guilt, were shot in the courtvard.

Toward the end of the afternoon, while Ranvier and Trinquet remained at the town hall such other members of the Commune as could be notified and reassembled met for the last time on the first floor of a house situate on the righthand side of the rue Haxo, where Oudet, wounded in the defence of the 19th District, had just been carried.

We numbered about fifteen, of whom two or three were militants, secretaries of the Commune.

The fact could no longer be ignored that the last moment had come, and we now examined what remained to be done. All reports agreed that the Versaillese massacre was becoming general in Paris.

I suggested sending an emissary to the nearest Prussian commander, asking him to serve as intermediary in proposing to the Versaillese Government the voluntary capitulation of the remaining members of the Commune, on the single condition that the massacres ceased and the liberty of the defenders of the Commune be guaranteed. This proposal, strongly supported by Vallés, seemed to obtain unanimous acceptance. I proceeded to draw it up.

I had finished writing it in order to get it signed, when Constant Martin declared that in his opinion it would be a mistake, and that what made and would in future make the greatness of the Commune was its end in combat, without negotiation with or capitulation to the Versaillese. Others remarked further that our proposal had very little chance of acceptance. And after a short debate it was withdrawn. It was then decided that in order to mark effectively the end of the resistance it was necessary to unite all the combatants that could be found for a final attack. The rallying point was to be the place des Fêtes. But the day was already drawing to its close, rain supervened, and the

On the following morning all Paris was in the power of the Versaillese.

Translated for the Socialist Standard.

Special attention is drawn to the announce of our Annual Social which will be found on another page. We are getting quite a reputathis event and we trust that all friends who can possible do so will make a point

Another interesting debate is also announced in this issue. Make a note of it.

SHOP SLAVERY.

"Shop Slavery and Emancipation." William Paine. Introduction by H. G. Wells. P. S. King & Sons. Paper, Is. net.

THE above is described as "a revolutionary appeal to the educated young man of the middle class," and deals in an emotional and sentimental fashion with the miserable existence of the shop-assistant. The value of the book may be estimated by the accuracy or otherwise of the following definition of the shop-assistant with whom it is supposed to deal:

"By the shop-assistant I mean that large, disaffected class of educated men, other than employers, that provide brains for the carrying on of trade, as distinct from the class that provide money and the class that provide muscle

Through the whole there runs the idea that the shop-assistant, clerk, and general "brain" worker are a superior class of people, who have, perforce, to seek the assistance of the "unskilled" abourers in order to effect their emancipation from the wretched "living-in system."

That assistance is not to be obtained from the point of view of class interests, but because they need the courage and determination of those from a lower social level." who have been "up against the brutal forces of life as long as the can remember.

Speaking of the "brain" workers the author says (p. 54): "We are all living at second hand. We are, by our upbringing, pampered, spoilt creatures who have snatched a confused idea of gentility from the class above our heads." And would seem that in return for "courage and experience" they will give to the common herd the best brains, the nimblest intellects, the shrewdest and most far seeing organisers" in the personnel of - the shop assistant!

Mr. Paine appears to have seen that the interests of the "brain" merchant and of the boss do not exactly coincide, and in this respect can be said to have obtained a better grasp of the situation than his introducer, who says (p. IX-X):

. While I am convinced that the only 'way out,' not only for the poor shop-assistant, but for all humanity, is just that desperate love for which he (the author) cries. I do not at the present moment see any prospect of its immediate and special application to the employees of the distributing trades. Nor am I so hopeless as he of the possible goodness of rich people and powerful people and employing people. And, indeed, it is to them particularly I must commend this book. I must say to them

Your leisure and your opportunity is very largely a trust that you should help your still helpless and inarticulate brothers out of the darkness. No way is known. You have to find

It is the "goodness" of those "employing people," coupled with the "gentility" of the assistant, that is responsible for the vile and revolting "living in" system, and to appeal to them to "find the way" is characteristic of Wells and his "intellectual" confreres.

The Labour Party man is disposed of thus:

"He (the Labour M.P.) lacks the first essential: he distrusts the people. . . He sees the people stripped to the last shred of their possessions, existing only from week to week, and at the mercy of the forces which have grown out of hand, and all he dares to say to them is: Take up the weapon with which your masters beat you and beat yourselves, but do nothing unconstitutionally. It is true your masters have robbed you, but do not rob them in return. Give them a bill for all their possessions, however wrongfully they came by them, and start afresh in a national compound on your own" (p. 97).

The description of the Labour Party (p. 102)

"Looked at as a small party in the composition of the country, such a class is admirable for marking time with, but when out of an excess of mediocre qualities it would have the bulk of the people made after a model of itself, it presents itself in a dangerous light, as its idea of government would necessarily be ameliorative measures are best calculated to give

to the people, not freedom, but something that shall superficially resemble freedom.'

March, 1912.

The body of the book is poor in the main, but the "remedy" is ludicrous in the extreme. "The individual must first be made happy in himself before any externals whatsoever can add to his advancement." And the method by which it is proposed to bring about this ideal state of blies from the brutalising demoralisation of which he complains is, to say the least of it, amusing.

You must attract the "young man of the middle class" "by example." You must "teach him to live dangerously" (on 7s. a week). "You must make him feel that he is in touch with some mysterious force he cannot account for "(it would be too dangerous to impart any knowledge that would enable him to account for much). He need never be bothered with thinking, for: "It is the elevation you yourself live on that will

And that elevation? Well "If you would set about it in a public manner there are the Scouts and the Territorials."

No, it will not do. Capitalism, the cause of the trouble, is not to be overthrown by the brainiest of errand boys armed with broomhandles; nor will capitalist development be stayed by joining the Territorials.

Such "elevation" may do for the "young men of the middle class" with "revolutionary" inclinations, but for the young men of the working class, shop-assistants included, such advice is dangerous. The shop assistant and clerk have to be shown that they are but cogs in the wheel of capitalist production; that they are articles of merchandise of no more importance to the capitalist than the goods they hand over the counter or record in musty tomes. They have to discard the absurd notion that the pen-pusher and the pill purveyor have a monopoly of brain. They have to realise that, with the carpenter and the carman, they are wage-slaves, and that the "only way out" of their degrading position is to organise with their fellows for the overthrow of the system that is based upon their sale.

PARTY NOTES.

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Party will be held on Friday, 5th and Saturday, 6th of April 1912 commencing at 10 am at the Fairfax Halls, Portland Gardens, London, N. Resolutions for the Agenda and nominations for the Executive Committee and the Party Officials should now be sent to the Head Office.

The Annual Social will be held on Good Friday evening, and will commence at 7.30 prompt.

Meetings in celebration of the Commune of Paris are being arranged in North and South London. The Tottenbam Municipal Hall has been secured for the 18th March, and the Graveney Schools, Tooting, for the 23rd.

Our pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion," continues its glorious career, and as we go to press (Feb. 28th) our comrade Vickers is meetthe Rev. G. Poole, Vicar of Gravesend, in public debate on the merits of Socialism and Christianity. On March 26th Comrade Vickers will meet Mr. Moise, of the Christian Evidence League, at the Caledonian Road Baths, Hollo-

Propaganda work in Hyde Park is meeting with great success and all desirous of aiding in forming the Marylebone Brauch of the Socialist Party should communicate at once with A. Kohn, 24, Carburton Street, W.

A FIFTH EDITION.

We have to announce the publication of the Manifesto itself remains unchanged, but the they can neither combine nor strike. And it preface has been brought up to date, necessita- could scarcely be otherwise, the State and muniting the enlargement of the brochure to 24 pages. The price is still 1d., post free $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISATION.

AN EARLY ARTICLE BY PAUL LAFARGUE. ---:0:--

In the last issue we were saying that the only Socialist reason that might be given in favour of the transformation of certain private indus-tries into services administered by State or Commune, was that the transformation would simplify the revolutionary task of expropriation to be accomplished by the workers' party when masters of political power. But this reason has not a leg to stand on. The advantages of the change would be far from balancing the many dangers presented, which we have already briefly mentioned.

The first great revolutionary effort of the workers will be to seize the central power. So long as this capitalist stronghold will not have been captured, all proletarian measures will be refused—even urgent ones-or if accorded, it will be in such a form that they become illusory, and only benefit the capitalist class.

When the bourgeoisie are dispossessed of political power, then only will the workers' party be able to commence their economic expro priation. But those who demand the nationalisation of certain industries-even under present conditions -- say that the task of the workers' party will be lightened because the bourgeoisie will already have been dispossessed of a portion of the social means of production. Not at all.

The great organisations of communication and credit (such as the railways, the Bank of France, the Credit Foncier, and the like), which it is desired to put into the hands of the State, are already so admirably centralised that, in order to seize them, it would only be necessary to give a kick to their directors and burn a few bundles of papers. It would be just as easy to take possession of the Bank of France and its provincial branches as it would be to take over the General Post Office and its branches. It would only be needful to send four men and a corporal, and to put the high officials under lock and key, in order to paralyse their intrigues and obtain information, if need were felt even for this.

It would be the same with the railways Under the Commune it should have been seen how Mr. Rothschild and all the chiefs of the railway screwed up their mouths. They became quite humble when they spoke to a delegate of the Commune. It was quite a pleasant sight. happen to know something about it.

Nationalisation would not facilitate the revo lutionary task; but it would give rise to financial swindles and a fearful deterioration of the Exchequer. In the second No. of "L'Egalité and in the "Revue Socialiste," I have pointed out some of the scandalous robberies of public funds which took place on the State purchase of the smaller railways. All the political jobbers the Freycinets, Gambettas, and Wilsons-their appetite whetted by the repurchase of the small nes, demand the purchase of the trunk railways.

Although in a less degree, the expropriation of the great organisations of production (ironworks, mines, textiles, etc.) will still be an easy matter. It will only be a question of displacing, and confining if needful, a few administrators or owners. But expropriation is only a part of the historic task of the workers' party.

Those who busy themselves with State-Socialism, that is to say, those who demand the nationalisation or municipalisation of certain services, do not trouble at all about the lot of th workers engaged in them; but even admitting that they sought to improve the lot of those em ployed, would they be able to do so? If they can, let them prove it; let them begin by improving the conditions of the underpaid workers in the Post Office, in the State tobacco factories, railways, and State ironworks. The workshops of State and municipality are prisons quite as bad as private workshops, if not worse.

The toilers are more greedily exploited in them than in private enterprise; they are bent beneath Fifth Edition of the Party Manifesto. The an authority that is more powerfully hierarchic;

But the revolutionary power which will socialise the instruments of labour taken from the capitalist class, will have to mount guard over the general interests of the society served by the socialised industries, and in particular over the interests of those directly engaged in them.

Suppose the party of the proletariat had sent Mr. Rothschild to Jericho to lock for records of his ancestors, and had seized the Northern of France Railway: and let us further suppose that it either would not or could not establish gratuitous transport at the outset; it could arrange matters somewhat in this way. Out of each 100 francs of receipts, 10 frs, are set aside for depreciation and general expenses, and 30 frs. are distributable to share and debenture holders. Now shares and debentures being suppressed, the revolutionary government could divide the portion taken by the shareholders for doing nothing into three parts.* One third could be left to the workers, one third go to cheapen freight, and one third go as revenue to the

Thus the revolutionary Government could immediately increase the remuneration of the employees by nearly 16 per cent. It would have to ensure that the remuneration were distributed in quite a different way to the present, where the less an administrator or high official works, the more he is paid. To remedy this it need only leave those interested to apportion the amount according to services and talents. The revolutionary Government would also have to obtain guarantees that the workers to whom it confided a social instrument, possessed all the requisite qualities for its good working; and that it did not become a means of exploiting certain grades of workers, as co-operative workshops have become in present society.

This method of utilising the social means of production could only be a passing one, imposed by the difficulties amidst which the workers party will have to struggle on the merrow of the revolution. But we can perceive a period wherein, with the needs of consumption and the powers of production scientifically calculated consumption as well as production will be free

prices. Human society will then once more enter the period of communism. Indeed only a "possibilist" professor, ignorant of social conditions and steeped in bourgeois prejudices, could offer the nationalisation of

There will then be neither wages nor market

public services as the Socialist ideal. Translated by F. C. W.

* This was written 30 years ago. Though somewhat Utopian in form, it is intended simply as an illustration, and in no way as a prophecy of what would occur.

The present proportion between railway wages and profits in England is thus given by L. G. Chiozza Money "Riches and Poverty," fifth edition, p. 93):

"In 1904 the 27 leading railway companies paid in wages only £29,000,000, or only 25s, per employee per week! These 27 companies own nearly all the railway lines, employ nearly all the railway servants, and make nearly all the profits assessed by the Inland Revenue Commissioners. And what do these profits amount to? As I have shown in Chapter 5, they amount to nearly f.40,000,000 per annum, or far more than is paid in wages in one of the most dangerous and most useful of all occupations."—(Trans.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. S. (Nottingham.)—Will reply in our next issue.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. A MEETING

Celebrate the Anniversary of

the above WILL BE HELD AT THE

MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS. THE GREEN, TOTTENHAM,

MONDAY, MARCH 18th, AT 8 o'c p.m.,

TOTTENHAM BRANCH, S.P.G.B. All Workers Invited. - - Admission Free.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

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All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions fo the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, nd advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10. Sandland Street, London, THE DOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

RMS O	F SU	BSCR	IPT	IONS.
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Months				50 cents.
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The Socialist Standard,



"THE RED PERIL"

AND ITS METHODS.

On another page of this issue we publish certain correspondence which has appeared in (or been suppressed from) the columns of our contemporary, "The Standard."

As some of our readers may know, those responsible for the appearance of that daily pennyworth of unblushing falsehood, "The Standard," have had recourse to that hoary old wheeze, the "Red Peril" crusade, as a means of working up a circulation. In the usual course, they baited the trap with the "Atheistic tendency of Socialism" lure, in the hope, of course, that the unco' guid might plank down their heaven-sent coppers for the melaucholy pleasure of learning how Socialism will imperil their precious souls.

This lay commended itself to various episcopal leeches, who do not see in Socialism any security for their lucrative idleness. A statement made by one of the lesser lights of the mental chloroforming institution, concerning ourselves, was such a disgustingly deliberate falsehood that we felt compelled to issue a denial, even though we knew the hopelessness of tilting at a parson engaged in the congenial occupation of scattering lies under the protection of the

The statement referred to was this: "There is a new society formed . . who put Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards. I refer to the Socialist Party of Great Britain." (The reader is referred to the correspondence for the words which we have, for clarity's sake, omitted.)

Now we are not concerned, and never have been concerned, to hide our antagonism to religion, as a form of error inimical to working class interests. We proclaimed that from the housetops when we published our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," and in that direction our reverend antagonist could add nothing (as the correspondence shows) to what the Party have said.

But when the servant of God says that we put Atheism before Socialism he accuses us of being false to our Socialist principles, traitors to the cause we profess to embrace. He could not well say anything worse of us than that.

Mr. Drawbridge very soon discovered that he had bitten off more than he could chew. He had levelled an accusation which he could not substantiate, and he began to wriggle. He did it with real or affected clumsiness. He first of all offers to withdraw his statement that "It is not generally recognised what a very large number of Socialists are Atheists" if it is incorrect, and by his remarks as to his experience, tries to make it appear that he thinks his statement that a fact concerning Socialists " is not generally recognised" is a statement that the fact exists. So Mr. Drawbridge offers to withdraw a statement which he never made.

Having endeavoured to make it appear that

he is too big a fool to be a rogue, our opponent goes on to quote himself as follows "There is a new society formed whose speakers are very active in the open spaces, and who put Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards," and says: "If my statement with regard to their speakers is inaccurate I will very gladly withdraw it.'

Now the only statement regarding the speakers is that they are very active in the open spaces. We cannot doubt that the writer would gladly" withdraw that if it were not true. But it happens to be the only piece of truth in the quotation; for it is not correct to refer to us as a new society, except in the sense of the fatted calf which was killed when the Inish prodigal returned, and which "was no ordinary calf, but a calf which had been cherished in the family for twelve years.

Mr. Drawbridge's object, however, is very clear, more especially in the light of his later letter. He is anxious to shoulder the slur of writing bad English in order that he might claim that it is the Party speakers who " Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards."

Unfortunately for him, however, the Reverend twister made the mistake of bringing forward many quotations from our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion" in support of his first statement. and these nail his second lie to the counter. For the quotations from the pamphlet cannot possibly be evidence against the speakers, whatever they might prove against the party. Why, the very first of them proves that the writer put them forward against the Party, and not against the speakers. "I have in my hand," he wrote, "their pamphlet 'Socialism and Religion,' which states on page 6 that: 'It is not issued as the view of individuals, but as an accepted manifesto of the Socialist Party on the subject.

No words could have said more plainly that the reverend-penman was supporting a case against the Party, and not against its speakers. It gives the lie, completely and utterly, to the statement in his final letter-" I said, and I repeat, that speakers of the Socialist Party of Great Britain put Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards." He said nothing of the sort, and he knows it.

Further confirmation of this is contained in Mr. Drawbridge's letter of December 27, where says: "But the reader can decide the point at issue for himself if he purchases the manifesto in question." These words, following the statement that Mr. Quelch "argues . . that his society places Socialism first in order of importance (and the attack on Theism afterwards)' prove that the writer accepted as the point at ssue, his statement that our party puts Atheism before Socialism.

The attempt to prove from the anti-religious character of one of our publications, that we are more concerned with Atheism than with Socialism, was in itself ridiculous. That pamphlet is No. 6. What of the previous five? Do they count for nothing? Even if Mr. Drawbridge had not himself demolished his accuration against the Party by taking refuge in the lie that he meant something else, it would be sufficient for us to point out that all his quota tions no more prove us to be Atheists first and Socialists afterwards than his anti Atheist acti vities prove him to be an anti-Atheist first and a Christian afterwards.

But the reverend gentleman is not satisfied with a disgraceful retreat. He must, under cover of a prostitute Press, descend to the particularly loathesome expedient of bearing false witness. He says in his final letter: recommended your readers to secure a copy of the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," and gave the name and address of the publisher. I have before me a letter from one who took my advice and sent sixpence for the penny pamphlet but has had no reply. . . If I have been unin tentionally reticent with regard to the context from which my quotations were 'torn,' apparently there is also some lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Socialist Party of Great Britain with regard to the context."

This is simply heaping lie upon lie. In the first place Mr. Drawbridge did not give the name and address of the publisher. It is plainly stated on the cover of the pamphlet that it is published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain at 10, Sandland Street, and the name and address our

opponent gave was that of a trade agent, which is also plainly stated on the cover. Such "Christian evidence" makes even the tale of the tanner 'suspect." But it served his purpose equally well, false or true.

We owe Mr. Drawbridge nothing even for the recommendation to read the pamphlet, for that was merely a cunning effort to lend an air of verisimilitude to his charge.

As to our opponent's statement that he is concerned "not with Socialism, but with Atheism, the falsity of that is demonstrated by his letters. Where, in the whole length of them has he written one word of attack against the strong anti-religious case we have presented in our pamphlet? His only concern has been to fasten pon the Socialist Party the charges that they are Atheists before they are Socialists, that they are cowards who are afraid to distribute their own pamphlets, and that they are thieves who steal money sent to them for literature—a nice catalogue of charges to have recoil upon his own head. But the fact that he has levelled them against us knowing them to be untrue proves that he is not so much concerned with Atheism as he is with Socialism. To say that we are Atheists first and Socialists afterwards is not to level a shaft at our Atheism, but at our Socialism; and to say it untruly is to make it still more apparent that our traducer is lying again when he says that he is not officially concerned with Socialism. The Church, like the whole capitalist world, could much more easily forgive us for destroying God and his heaven than for abolishing private property.

As for the share of "The Standard" in this despicable business, little need be said. Their action in allowing an accusation of pilfering to be made against us, and then refusing us the opportunity of refuting the charge, proves to what unspeakable depths of terpitude and corruption modern capitalist journalism reduces its wage-slaves. A dog's carcasse that has laid by the margin of a pool through a hot summer month is wholesome and sweet-smelling by comparison. However, it is a good day's work for us and for Socialism that reveals so plainly and unmistakably that the authors of the Peril" are not interested in telling the public the truth about Socialism and Socialists, but are simply concerned with earning their daily by the disgusting practice of slinging filth and

dressing up lies in the garments of Truth. Well, few of us can choose our trade, and the price overcomes many scruples. And the gentlemen who are paid to write such lies concerning political opponents, may in their day have been capable of playing a fair, sportsmanlike game of cricket, and perhaps, even now, do not cheat at cards; but-we would rather play cards with

However, such men, such work, such alliance between prostitute Press and parasite Church, proclaims the truth of our propaganda from the housetops directly they let it be seen that they have nothing but lies to oppose to it.

A Great Debate.

SOCIALISM V. CHRISTIANITY.

CALEDONIAN ROAD BATHS, ISLINGTON, N.

TUESDAY, MARCH 26th, AT 8 P.M.,

F. VICKERS, representing the SOCIAL-IST PARTY OF GR. BRITAIN.

A. E. MOISE (NORTH LONDON CHRIS-TAIN EVIDENCE LEAGUE)

WILL DEBATE THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITION : That the Policy of the Socialist Party of Great

Britain is superior to the Christian Religion as a Remedy for Social Evils.

Chair: W. H. HOWARD-NASH, ESQ. Doors Open at 7.30. Admission and all Seats Free.

A PARSON SCOTCHED.

On December 18th last a letter from the pen of the Rev. C. L. Drawbridge appeared in the columns of the London daily, "The Standard. In the course of this letter the writer said :

"It is not generally recognised what a very large number of Socialists are Atheists. There is a new S scialist society formed whose speakers are very active in the open spaces, and who put Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards. I refer to the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

have in my hand their pamphlet No. 6, 'Socialism and Religion,' which states on page 6 that: 'It is not issued as the view of an individual, but as an accepted manifesto of the Socialist Party on the subject.'

The writer later proceeds to give many passages from the pamphlet he had referred to, to bear out his statement that the S.P.G.B. place Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism second. The matter being brought to the notice of the Executive Committee of the Party, they instructed the General Secretary to reply as follows:

To the Editor of "The Standard."

Sir, -At its meeting held on Tuesday evening the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain had its attention called to the correspondence appearing in your columns of the 18th inst., when the following resolution was unanimously passed and directed to be sent to you for publication :

"That while willingly admitting the truth of much contained in the letter of Mr. C. L. Drawbridge to The Standard of December 18, 1911 it desires to call attention to a serious inaccuracy on the part of the writer. He says:

"'It is not generally recognised what a large number of Socialists are Atheists. There is a new Socialist society formed, whose speakers are very active in the open spaces, and who put Atheisin first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards. I refer to the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

"As a matter of fact, the Socialist Party of Great Britain holds that a Socialist is no more an Atheist than a Theist. The Socialist position on this point is set forth in the following quotation from its pamphlet 'Socialism and Religion, page 45. 'The workers have, above all, to dislodge the capitalist class from power, and the religious question, and, indeed, all else, is secon-

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, S. G. QUELCH (General Secretary), The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

This elicited the following reply from Mr.

To the Editor of "The Standard." Sir.—In your issue of Saturday, December 29, you printed a letter from the general secretary of the Socialist Party of Great Britain containing the text of the resolution which was passed unanimously by the executive committee. as follows: -"That while willingly admitting the truth of much contained in the letter of Mr. C. L. Drawbridge, it desires to call attention to a serious inaccuracy on the part of the writer. He says: -

"It is not generally recognised what a very large number of Socialists are Atheists."

If this statement is incorrect I will gladly withdraw it, but I consider it to be true. During the last three years I have spent a great deal of time dealing with Atheism in the parks and open spaces, and my statement was born of considerable knowledge both of Atheist and of Socialist speakers. Mr. Quelch continues to quote my

"There is a new Socialist society formed whose speakers are very active in the open spaces, and who put Atheism first in order of importance and Socialism afterwards. I refer to the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

If my statement with regard to their speakers is inaccurate I will very gladly withdraw it, but I

of fact the Socialist Party of Great Britain holds that a Socialist is no more an Atheist than a Theist." In these days of progress one is glad to receive the very latest information with regard to the official opinions of such societies, but the official information upon which my letter was based was dated 1911, and is being sold to day as "the accepted manifesto of the Socialist Party on the subject" (page 6), and it is aggressively Atheistic on every page. The official definition of Atheism by its exponents to day is "anti-The ism," and every page of the Socialist Party of Great Britain pamphlet referred to is simply that and nothing else. [Here Mr. Drawbridge gives many quotations from the pamphlet, and continues: These extracts are from the official pronouncements issued this year and sold to-day by the Socialist Party of Great Britain on the subject under discussion, and it is with very great pleasure that we learn that the Executive Committee is not now so enthusiastic with regard toanti-Theismapparently as when they issued the pamphlet this year. In his letter, appearing in your issue of Saturday last, Mr. Quelch quotes from their pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion, page 45: "Workers have, above all, to dislodge the capitalist class from power, and the religious question, and, indeed, all else, is secondary to this." He argues from this isolated quotation, which they have discovered, that his society puts Socialism first in order of importance (and the attack on theism afterwards). Socialism, however, is not mentioned in the above extract, but only class autagonism -down with the capitalists. That is not Socialism, but only a preliminary

But the reader can decide the point at issue for himself if he purchases the manifesto in question from Messrs. Hendersons, 66, Charing

step in its direction.

As a clergyman of the Church of England, and as the hon. secretary of the Christian Evidence League, I am officially concerned, not with Socialism, but with Atheism; not with politics, but with religion; not with the economic theories and political tenets of the S.P.G.B., but with their attitude towards theism.

> I am, Sir, your obedient servant. C. L. DRAWBRIDGE.

The above letter was followed by one from a person who, for purposes of his own, snapped at the opportunity of a cheap advertisement, obtained at the cost of lending himself as the tool of the enemies of the working class, and (as

will appear later) exposing his own ignorance. The Executive Committee's reply to Mr. Drawbridge ran as follows, and appeared in "The

The Rev. C. L. Drawbridge's reply in your issue of December 27, 1911, again inaccurately presents the position of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. As stated in the resolution of the Executive Committee, which he quotes, much of his letter is willingly admitted to be true-let him make the most of that. But it is entirely incorrect to say that the Socialist Party "puts Atheism first in order of importance and Socialism afterwards.'

Westand firmly by the quotations he has given from our pamphlet on "Socialism and Religion," but submit that as they are torn from their context they convey only part of the truth. The whole essay from which they are taken is a scientific exposition of the attitude toward religion which logically follows the acceptance of ocialist principles. That attitude on our part is therefore the consequence of Socialism, which by that very fact is shown to come first in order of importance. Even the quotations given make

The Rev. C. L. Drawbridge's error doubtless arises from a belief that "Socialism as a political or economic theory" has no necessary connection with science in general, and can be separated entirely from the theory of life as a whole. This cannot consistently be done. It is beside the | an Atheist than a Theist is to give the lie direct point to maintain that some Socialists are Christo the main argument of the Socialist Party of tians. This is only evidence of the spurious Great Britain's pamphlet on Socialism and Re-learn that the Executive Committee unanimously their minds; as is proven in the pamphlet under are not Socialists." He goes on to say: "I write decided on Tuesday last that "as a matter | discussion, where the whole argument is sum- | as a Socialist and an Atheist, as one who believe.

med up in these words (page 46):-

"There is, therefore, no need for a specifically anti-religious test fon candidates for member ship of the Socialist Party] So surely does the acceptance of Socialism lead to the exclusion of the supernatural that the Socialist has little need for such terms as Atheist. Freethinker, or even Materialist; for the word Socialist, rightly understood, implies one who on all such questions takes his stand on positive science, explaining all things by purely natural causation Socialism being not merely a politico-economic creed, but also an integral part of a consistent world philosophy."

We do not, then, put irreligion first and Socialism afterwards. Yet it is perfectly true, as the Rev. C. L. Drawbridge says, "that Socialists are for the most part anti-Christian." It is true that Socialism supersedes the supernatural. It is further true that Socialism, although it is neither concerned with Atheism, as such, nor with abstract notions on speculative Theism unconnected with life or conduct, yet inevitably leads to anti-religious views, as these are universally understood. But this is only a consequence of the acceptance of the scientific basis Socialism, and, therefore, a secondary matter. That is clear, even apart from the pamphlet, from the words of Karl Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism. He says in his "Jewish Question ":-

"For us religion is not the cause of social imperfection, but its result. We explain the religious subjection of citizens by their social subjection. We do not pretend that they must shake off their religious chains in order to get rid of their social chains; we say, on the contrary, that they will get rid of their religious chains by disengaging themselves of their social chains. We do not transform questions of this world into questions of theology, we transform questions of theology into questions of this world. History has been explained by religion long enough, let us explain religion by history.

And finally, to clinch the matter, we would point to the preface to the penny publication on Socialism and Religion" that we publish wherein it is plainly said:-

"The fact that the attitude outlined in this pamphlet is an integral part of the Socialist view of life guarantees that the religious question will not be allowed to overshadow the main issue. It indicates, indeed, that the necessary work of a general Socialist education (which includes the position here laid down on religion, as the greater includes the less) will be unflinchingly continued.'

It is, therefore, evident that while Socialism is definitely anti-Christian and fundamentally anti-religious, yet it is entirely false to say that the Socialist Party of Great Britain "puts Atheism first and Socialism afterwards" whole attitude toward religion is but the logical outcome of the Socialist principles upon which it is founded. -Yours, etc.

S. G. QUELCH, Gen. Sec.

Mr. Drawbridge replied in the following letter, which appeared in the columns of our contemporary on January 13:

Sir,-In your issue dated January 5 the secretary of the Socialist Party of Great Britain again accused me of inaccuracy, but produced no evidence to substantiate his accusation. I said, and I repeat, that speakers of the Socialist Party of Great Britain put Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards. He has twice attempted to refute this by stating that the official teaching of his organisation places Social ism first in order of importance.

It is not for me to dogmatise upon that. When however, the Socialist Party of Great Britain forwarded to "The Standard" the resolution of their executive on the point, Mr. Guy Aldred, a thorough going Socialist and Atheist and editor of a Socialist paper, replied ("The Sandard. December 29): "The resolution seems to me to be hypocrisy from beginning to end. To say as he (Mr. Quelch) does, that a Socialist is no more

that Socialism is founded on Atheism." are other Socialist organisations which, with more justification than the Socialist Party of Great Britain, can claim that Atheism is no essential part of their official teaching and yet whose speakers and members are for the most part Atheists. Last Sunday at an open air meeting a Socialist speaker who opposed me took me to task for what I wrote to "The Standard," and said that I had no more right to judge Socialism by the attitude of the Socialist Party of Great Britain than he had to judge Christianity as a whole with sole reference to the opinions of the Plymouth Brethren. I asked: "Are most of the members of your organisation (the Independent Labour Party) Atheists?" He replied: undoubtedly, but Atheism is not part of our official Socialist creed."

But to return to the communication from the Socialist Party of Great Britain which appeared in your issue of the 5th inst. The secretary accuses me of tearing my quotations from their context. Well, I could hardly quote the whole 48 pages verbatim, but I recommended your readers to secure a copy of the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," and I gave the name and address of the publisher. I have before me a letter from one who took my advice and sent sixpence for the penny pamphlet, but has had no reply He writes to ask how much more money he ought to send. If I have been unintentionally reticent with regard to the context from which my quotations were "torn," apparently there is also some lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Socialist Party of Great Britain with regard to

The Socialist Party of Great Britain continues. in your issue of the 5th: "The Rev. C. L. Drawbridge's error doubtless arises from a belief that Socialism as a political or economic theory has no necessary connection with science in general, and can be separated entirely from the theory of life as a whole. This cannot be done." To which I reply that if I have made any error in my estimate of the attitude of their speakers-which I do not admit-it is due to a misconception of the relative importance which they attach in their own minds to their dual message of Atheism and Socialism. Of course, every theory political, economic, astronomical, etc., should form an integral part of one's philosophy of life, and thus tend to shape one's "total reaction" to one's environment, but it is not easy to see what relationship the theories of the Socialist Party of Great Britain bear to science in general. Science means knowledge. What knowledge has the Socialist Party of Great Britain of the non-existence of God? Science presupposes evidence. What evidence can Mr. Quelch put forward of the non-existence of God? To my mind it shows muddleheadedness to argue that either Theism or Atheism is the foundation of either individualism or collectivism.—I am, Sir, yours truly, C. L. DRAWBRIDGE

2, Hampstead Hill-gardens, N.W.

This letter was answered on behalf of the Socialist Party as follows. Those portions we print in italics, however, our contemporary thought fit to suppress. We ask our readers to take particular note of those passages, concerning which we have something to say in another

To the Editor of "The Standard."

Sir, -The Rev. C. L. Drawbridge is still unwilling to admit his error. He began this discussion by quoting from an official publication of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and by drawing therefrom the entirely unwarranted conclusion that this party "puts Atheism first in order of importance, and Socialism afterwards." I showed (1) that our fundamental antagonism to religion (which is not necessarily "Atheism") was the logical outcome of the basic principles of Socialism; (2) that no religious tests were imposed on candidates for membership of the party; (3) that the quotations he gave from our pamphlet, as well as others I gave therefrom, proved that we placed Socialism first, and our views on religion second.

Now he dares to say that I produced no evisnce! As a leading light in a Christian Evidence sciety, his blindness to evidence when it demontrates his error is significant. It suggests that "Christian" evidence is the negation of evidence, just as Christian Socialism and Christian Science are the negation of Socialism and of Science.

However, it having been made clear that the official teaching of this organisation places Socialism first in order of importance, we are now told that "speakers of the Socialist Party put Atheism first." But not a word from any speaker of the Party anywhere is brought forward in support of this; indeed, none can be brought. And as if to prove that he is completely gravelled for want of evidence, he quotes a Mr. Aldred, whose letter showed a complete lack of understanding of the point at issue, and whose opinion is of no value at all in matters concerning the Socialist Party. The Rev. Drawbridge, in fact, himself passed severe but merited judgment on his new found supporter. Mr. Aldred wrote " as one who believes that Socialism is founded on Atheism, and the Rev. Drawbridge says (rightly this time): "To my mind it shows mud dleheadedness to argue that either Theism or Atheism is the foundation of either individualism or collectiveism." Obviously so. It is to reverse the natural order of things. The materialist conception of history, which is the scientific basis of modern Socialism, shows that religious change is an effect, not a cause, of economic develop-ment. That is why we are Socialists first and anti-religious afterwards

The Rev. C. L. Drawbridge's suggestion that we do not seem anxious to disseminate our pamphlet on Socialism and Religion needs no refutation. We seek and welcome every opportunity to make its message more widely known, confident that the truth will prevail.

No one vainly sent sixpence for the penny pamplifet to the publishing office. On the other hand, you, Mr. Editor, forwarded a reader's letter which requested that a copy of the leaflet be sent, and stating that remittance would follow receipt of the publication. The order was, of course, executed. As stated on the cover of the pamphlet, it is published by ourselves at 10 Sand-land-street, W.C. The address given by the Rev. Drawbridge was not that of the publishers, but of a wholesale agent, for the conduct of whose busi ness we obviously are not responsible.

Publicity, indeed, is our chief weapon in the keen fight for scientific Socialism. It is a betraval of the workers to deny, through cowardice or dishonesty, that Socialism must incritably lead not only to a revolution in society, but also to a revolution in thought in matters of religion.

Your correspondent admits that "of cours every theory . . . should form an integra-part of one's theory of life." And so we recog use that Socialism, being grounded in science as definite implications in matters of religion which cowardly timeservers' who usurp the name

We frankly proclaim the anti-religious implication of Socialism in order to increase workingclass enlightenment and to purge the movement of political self-seekers who play fast and loose with Socialist principles and proletarian interests. In our every political act, indeed, Socialism is our first consideration, and all else is secondary

The Rec. C. L. Drawbridge has, up to the present, signally failed to substantiate his statement. And I challenge him now to produce any tittle or jot of evidence from our publications, or any word of our public speakers anywhere, to prove his ridiculous contention that the Socialist Party of Great Britain "puts Atheism first in order of importance and Socialism afterwards. Yours, etc.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- 'Western Clarion' (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York).
- 'New York Call" (New York). "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver) 'The Star of the East' (Melbourne).
- 'Maoriland Worker' (New Zealand)
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "The New World" (West Ham). (London)

Give a person a copy of the Socialist STAN-DARD and you have inflicted a three-hour Socialist speech upon him.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

REPLY TO R. T. (New Zealand.)

WE have received the following letter from a reader in New Zealand :

Dear Comrades, - I do not subscribe to your theory that we shall ever obtain a class conscious proletarian majority sufficient to wrest political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie while the capitalist mode of production prevails. I incline more to the theory that the capitalist system will break down by its own weight long before the other desired event could take place. Marxists are turning their eyes to China, where a capitalist revolution is in full swing which, i successful, must fetch the Socialist Republic within measurable distance. Labour-power is cheap and abundant in the Flowery Land, and that fact, aided by the bountiful natural resources, must attract the international capitalist class to invest its surplus capital there, so soon as restrictions to commerce and industry are removed. When China is in full blast exporting cheap commodities to all parts of the world, a bad spell is in store for white wage slaves, for then a time must come when European and American fact ries will be full of goods, which the working class is unable to buy back owing to lack of funds due to unemployment.

Then the capitalist system must come to a stop like a clock when its mainspring breaks, and tens of millions of wage slaves will be out of

If the Chinese revolution is successful I hope to see the state of affairs outlined above reached within the next quarter of a century. I believe this idea to which I subscribe is known as the 'catastrophic theory," and I would like to hear scientific arguments against it.

To prepare for this long looked-for day when the robber class is no longer able to continue its system of plunder, I hold it essential that we have powerful Sccialist organisations, so that the Socialist Republic may be established as speedily and painlessly as possible. Hence the need for propaganda. The reason the proletariat is so backward in class consciousness is due to the faulty teachings of so called Socialist parties, and is not due to economic conditions being unripe for change, for we know the means of pioduction are now sufficiently advanced to provide a cultured existence for all. The proletariat cannot improve its material condition by political action, for all laws are made in the interest of the ruling class, and never in the interest of the working class. If the working class has ever benefited by the passing of an Act, it has been quite a secondary consideration on the part of the law makers In any case economic laws are more powerful than, and finally control, political ones. Industrial organisation is the only method by which the workers can retard, though never prevent, their material conditions sinking from bad to werse this side of the Social Revolution. I regard it as a small matter whether the slave endorses the S.P.G.B., the S.L.P. or the Vincent St. John I.W.W., so long as he is class conscious. I have met class conscious slaves who endorse each of these organisations. Class-consciousness is the essential thing. Political action is value able as a means of propaganda only, and had the slaves of England been sufficiently enlightened to return one or more S.P.G.B. or S.L.P. men to Parliament last elections, a splendid opportunity would have arisen for the Class Struggle to have been exposed, when the Government used the military to shoot down workmen in the late strike. To have class-conscious Marxian proletarians in Parliament is the most efficacious of all methods of propaganda. I do not believe the Socialist Republic will be voted in; on the contrary, I believe its establishment will have to be fought for by Socialist organisations versus the capitalist class and their classunconscious allies. Socialist parties are nothing more or less than potential military organisations. I am not dogmatic on all contained herein, and await with interest the blow of your

R. T. (New Zealand.)

Our correspondent has predicted—what many have predicted before him-the breakdown of the capitalist system "of its own weight." This prediction is, of course, based upon the fact that the wage slave is producing a progressively larger amount of wealth than he receives, and that this surplus wealth accumulates in the warehouses and chokes production. It is supposed that, since it is (as far as present knowledge goes) undeniable that the cause will go on increasingly - that is to say the exploitation of the worker will continue to grow greater -the effect will follow suit, and so of necessity eventuate in the strangulation of production and the breakdown of the system.

March, 1912

This excellent piece of reasoning would be all right were it not for the inevitable "if." If no other factor intervened, then the growing disproportion between the worker's production and his consumption would lead to what R.T.'s logic says it would. If the matter were as simple as our friend represents it to be, he might, after a few hours arithmetic, go to sleep, leaving definite instructions as to the very hour he was to be awakened (well within the quarter of a century) to enjoy the realisation of his hopes.

But alas! there is a worm in the bud: the road to Anarchy is not quite so well defined as our correspondent thinks.

"Labour power is cheap and abundant in the Flowery Land." Granted. But it has got to be drilled and disciplined. Does R.T. quite realise what that means? Labour-power is cheap and abundant in Japan, but the labourpower of Lancashire cotton operatives, judged by output, is far cheaper. Chinese labour-power was terribly cheap on the Rand, but the sevenfold higher-priced labour-power that could be trusted with a rock drill was cheaper.

This, however, is not to discourage R.T. in the gentle hope that he may see "tens of millions of slaves . . . out of work." It could only put off the happy consummation another quartercentury or two, time which R.T. can well spend

That the revolution in China marks an epoch none can deny. What International Capital expects of the event is shown by the fact that so much of the sinews of war of the revolutionaries has been contributed by International Capital The significant feature of the movement is that it has been to a large extent International Capital's revolution. For many years International Capital, fettered by national bonds and jealousies, has been trying to bring about the revolution from outside, but in the end it has had to resort to the internal method.

That the Chinese revolution means that the white wag. slave is in for a bad time is very probable. That International Capital will proceed to the exploitation of Chinese labour-power more promptly than it has to the exploitation of that vast store of equally cheap labour power in India which it has forgotten seriously to tap may also be true. But even then, with the warehouses full and the system threatened, it may be possible for the capitalists to find some solu

tion - for the moment, at all events. What would Lloyd George say? What he already says -dole out to the starving multitude the wealth that threatens your very existence, and so keep them quiet and save your bacon What would the American cotton grower say? Just what he says to day when he has too abundant a crop-burn the surplus and wax fatter. What would the Kaiser and the rulers of New Zealand and Australia say? Just what they are saying to-day: We are threatened by a red peril at home and a yellow peril abroad-let us dou ble and treble and quadruple our armies and navies, so that we may preserve the world's peace. And what would the economic laws say? They would say that labour-power had become so beastly cheap that there was not much induce

ment to develop machinery.

And finally, what would R.T. say? Would he shout "bombs" where the New Zealand capitalists were drilling their - what does he call them? "class unconscious allies"? he rub his hands gleefully and murmer "Shades of Marx and Engels, here's a Limehouse joke. The whole muddy thing's stopped 'like a clock when its mainspring breaks No, he wouldn't. He would apostrophise the great dead and say sadly: "This one little mistake-your optimism as to how soon the system would 'break of its own weight'-only shows your achievements; but-how long is this go-

For the capitalists would not have an insur mountable problem set them. It would simply be to find some way of continuing to exploit the workers. Powerful as the economic laws are, they could set them all at defiance to just the extent to which they could alter the conditions out of which they arise. The cotton growers do this when they burn part of their crops. whole capitalist class might do this if they destroved the surplus that was choking them

New as to R.T.'s idea that we shall never have a majority of class conscious proletarians suffi cient to wrest political and military power from the bourgeoisie while the capitalist mode of production prevails, this belief may have been grounded on the circumstance that our friend was ready to take his dying solemn that the system was timed to break of its own weight in a quarter of a century. It he can come to see, however, how evident it is that the system could be made to support its own weight for a good many quarter-centuries, he may snatch a morsel of comfort from the reflection that it will give class-consciousness time to catch up.

But is R.T.'s pessimism well grounded? As regards the populous centres of advanced capitalist countries of the world it certainly is not. But R.T. must not make the mistake of having an eye for the thoroughly educated Marxist only In the view of the Socialist, who looks to his class for the future, and not to individuals, it is the condition of the mentality of the mass that matters. As the skipper, waiting for the rising tide to float him off the mudbank, depends on the great mass of the water, and not upon the waves, so the Marxist watches the evolution of the class mentality. That this evolution is very rapidly taking place is demonstrated daily, at onr propaganda meetings, and in the workshops and factories.

Our correspondent says that the proletariat cannot improve its material condition by political action because all laws are made in the the interest of the working class. But if the last were true, it could surely only be because they are made by the ruling class, and would not apply if the working class had power to make laws. The statement that the proletariat cannot improve their material condition by political action is not very wide of the truth, but the reason given is a bad one. The true reason he states when he says that economic laws control political ones. But then action on the industrial field is just as much controlled by economic Nevertheless, working-class resistance is one of the conditions presupposed by those laws, without which they would break down. The truth is that the workers have means of resistance on the industrial field, but in order to be able to make laws in their own interest they need to obtain command of that which will enable them to abolish the system.

R.T. does not believe that Socialism will be voted in, but that it will have to be fought for by the Socialist organisations against the capitalist class and their class-unconscious alliespresumably when the system has broken down of its own weight. Everyone but the Anarchist, however, realises that while the Socialists are unable to find sufficient class-conscious voters to vote abolition of private property, the capitalist class will have no difficulty in finding ample "class unconscious allies" to rende ridiculous any attempt to impose Socialism on a majority who do not want it.

If fighting is to be done, it must be after the working class have obtained control of the armed forces through the capture of the political machinery. The capture of the political machinery implies such a development of class conscious ness as would permeate even the armed forces themselves, and make them not unwilling servants of their class interests. The capitalists would then not find many "class unconscious allies" to assist them in their counter revolution In any circumstance this class consciousness must be waited for. It is indispensable if we work through political means. It is to an even greater degree indispensable if we lost the political weapon, for we should then have to wait until it had so permeated and undermined the armed forces as to make them an agent of revo lution. And finally it is indispensable if the system breaks down of its own weight, for then you to be human -it cannot dim the lustre of | Socialism could only be established by a people who understood it. The moral is obvious.

The British flag has been hoisted over the buildings of the Electric Tramway Company. This was a gentle reminder that the forces of international capitalism are up against the workers of the world without distinction of race or sex.

It has been announced that a revolver range has been opened at Scotland Yard for the use o the police. Of course, the defeat of Houndsditch and the victory of Sidney Street are given as the reason for this, but the truth is to be found in the growing desperation of the workers and the greater magnitude of modern strikes. When the Metropolitan police go up to the coal districts they will have something other than staves in their pockets. The peace is going to be preserved, my masters.

JOTTINGS.

The international character of capitalism was

well illustrated in the recent strike at Lisbon.

Reuter's telegram from Lisbon, Jan. 29, said

The Manchester City Council had before it on Feb. 7, a report from the Chief Constable for a scheme to raise a force of 120 mounted men to be specially available in times of public disturbance. Cllr. J. McLachlan (I.L.P.) supported an amendment to refer the matter back because he thought "they should have financial assistance from the Government. . . . What he was not satisfied with was that there was no promise, and apparently very little hope, of anything in the way of Government assistance in the matter. "Manchester Guardian," Feb. 8.

Like a true "Labourite," Mr. McLachlan has not a word to say against the employment of bullies to break working class heads, so long as the national cash-till bore part of the cost.

The "Manchester Guardian" was very frank over the matter of this mounted force in its leading article of Feb. 8. It said that if the Home Office paid half the cost of the scheme, "the remainder would represent an uncommonly cheap insurance against dangers which, though we trust are not imminent, are still not imaginary. and which might involve losses to property out of all proportion to such an expenditure.

Such faithful watchdogs of property as Mr. McLachlan should be among the first applicants for enlistment in the force.

And now what does this mean :

"Members of the National Reserve and other ex-Service men are invited to join the Civilian Force. Full particulars obtainable at Headquarters, 100, Victoria-st., Westminster, S.W. Recruiting office open 9 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Advt., "Daily Chronicle," 24.2.12 That looks as if the master class are preparing to debate the question of the colliers' minimum wage in the usual way.

J. B.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham),

AT THE LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

			_		
SUNDAYS.	3rd.	10:h.	17:1	24th.	
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 J. E. Roe	J. Holmes J. Fitzgerald	J. Halls H. Cooper	A. Barker A. Anderson	J. Holmes J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park"	7.30 T. W. Allen 3.0 J Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson A. Jacobs.
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 C. Parker	A. Jacobs F. J. Rourke	A. Bartley C. Parker	R. Fox C. Ginger	A. Kohn
Ilford (station) Islington, Higbury Corner	7.30 A. Jacobs	T. W. Allen	C. Ginger	A.W. Pearson	T. W. Allen
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 A. Kohn	C. Parker	F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen F. J. Rourke	C. Parker A. Anderson
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 J. Fitzgerald 11.30 J. Halls	R. Fox A. W. Pearson	A. Hoskyns T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	J. Halls
Peckham Triangle	7.30 R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	
Stoke-Rewington, Ridley Rd., Dalaten.	11.30 A. Hoskyns 11.30 J. Holmes	J. Fitzgerald H. Cooper	A.W.Pearson A. Barker		C. Ginger A. Kohn
Tooting Broadway	7.30 A. Barker	E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe	J. Fitzgerald	H. Cooper
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 T. W. Allen	J. Halls A. Anderson	F. Dawkins F. J. Rourke		A. Bays A. Hoskyns
Walham Green Church	7.30 A. Hoskyns 7.30 E. Fairbrother		E. Fairbrother	A. Barker	E Fairbrother
Walthamstow, Church Hill	7.30 F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs J. Halls	R. Fox F. J. Rourke
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 C. Ginger 7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Hoskyns T. W. Allen			A. W. Pearson
MONDAYS.—Islington, H	ighbury Cnr. 8.30.	Walham Gree		m.	Name of the State
TTIRSDAYS.—Battersea.	Princes Head, 8 p.1	n. 90 Walham	Green, Churc		Triangle 8.30. Greengate, 8.
WEDNESDAYS.—East	Ham, The Cock, o				

THURSDAYS .- Battersea, Princes Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfi St., Caledonian Rd., N.

St., Caledonian Rd., N.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30

SATURDAYS .- Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE: 10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b. and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT

BRITAIN

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour done wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and

their democratic control by the whole people. That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freefom, the emancipation of the working-class will avolve the emancipation of : Il mankind without

listinction of race or sex. That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

. That as the machinery of government, includig the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of he wealth taken from the workers, the workinglass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, cational and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

. That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of he working-class is diametrically opposed to he interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation

must be hostile to every other party. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, there fore, enters the field of political action deter mined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under ts banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to sauslity, and slavery to freedom.

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SYNDICALISM IN ENGLAND. THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

THE treachery of "Labour" politicians and the betrayal by pseudo-Socialists in The Effect Parliament are very real and potent factors in causing many mem-Treachery bers of the working class to lose faith in political action.

Taken together with their ignorance of history and their custom of judging by mere appearances, it accounts for the attraction that so-called direction action" possesses for many members of the working class. Several eretwhile "Lat our" politicians, crushed out in the scramble for political jobs, have been beening Syndicalism in England. Ben Tillett, ex-emigration tout and temperance lecturer, and unsuccessful "labour" candidate for Swansea; Leonard Hall, the Labour Party's defeated candidate at Birmingham: A. A. Purcell, the unappreciated "labour" candidate for Salford, and many others, have been busy lately singing the praises of Syndicalism, and urging the workers to adopt that

Their leading light is Mr. Tom Mann, and his connection with the movement is sufficient condemnation to those who know his record.

Almost every side-tracking movement during the past twenty years has had Mr. Mann's support. He left the S.D.F. in order to premote and boom the I.L.P. along with Mr. Maltman Barrie, the Tory agent. When he was out paced for a job, he turned his attention to the Liberals and Radicals, and a few years back became the secretary of the National Democratic League. He thus helped to decoy the workers into the Liberal camp, and was useful in blinding the workers to their real interests

Australia next provided a field for Mr. Tom Mann's job hunting, and he remained there while the funds of the pseudo-Socialist movement lasted. Having absorbed their money, he came back to the old country, and commenced a campaign in favour of "Industrial Syndical-

The increasing pressure of economic development and capitalist greed had already shaken many of the sheep like followers of the trade union leaders. Not understanding the real cause of capitalist supremacy, and failing to grasp the prime need for education in Socialism, many were easily influenced by the anti political bodies' cry that it was the form of the economic organisation that was wrong. Remedy that and the battle was won!

Writing in the first number of the "Industrial Syndicalist," Mr. Tom Mann said, speaking

Pollow the if not solely, in the sectional charthe French. United Kingdom."

writing on this, said (" Prepare for Action " "Now, without urging a close imitation of the French or any other method, I strongly believe that on the average the French policy is the one that will suit us best."

Great tales of what Syndicalism had dore there were invented-but then came the Paris Postal strikes. The first one was unexpected, and caused some confusion in the service. But the second strike had been prepared for by the Government-they even welcomed it.

Before the strike bembastic speeches and threats were made by the Syndicalist leaders. Assurances of victory followed. Sad to relate. however, the victory was with the master class. Those who relied on Syndicalism's promises saw the "sympathetic strikes" fizzle out as rapidly as they started. The soldiers helped to run the Postal service, and scon the men went back to work-beaten. Hundreds were dismissed; prosecutions rained thick upon the leaders; trade unions were proscribed for civil servants. The hollowness of the Syndicalist leader's claims

The French railway strike next taught the less n that we have ever pointed out. It showed that pernanent and strong organisation anin ated by class interests is essential to success in the daily struggles of our class. The poor organisation of the railwayn en, together with the reliance they placed upon the false pro-

mises of support made by the Beaten by Syndicalists, served to keep their own them backward. They love melo-Arguments. dramatic effects, but never look beyond them. Syndicalism, as represented by the General Confederation of Labour in France, is but fitted for a low state of working-class organisation. Many here are misled by the bombast and bravado of its leaders; by the flourishing start of strikesthat speedily break down.

Syndicalists and all kinds of "Direct Action-- Anarchists - sneer at English trade unionism, but their methods could not improve it. Their standing indictment against English trade unionism is that it splits the 21 million organised workers into 1,100 trade unions. But look to "the pattern nation," France. According to the official figures (quoted in the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette" for February), the 1,029,238 organised workers there are split up into 5,325 unions! So that with less than half the total membership they have nearly five times the number of unions!

"the impotency of the movement": "That weakness is to be found simply, "Under the inspiration of Syndicalism they have a mass of small unions with a fleeting existence; members who neglect to pay their dues; Pailures of acter of the 1,100 unions of the who look upon a union numerically and financially strong as a danger. They don't believe in France, especially was beld the plodding, necessary work of building up a up as a pattern for the workers. Tom Mann, strong workers' organisation. In fact, they

scout the idea of a strong union well backed by strike funds. Hence we see that the importation of Syndicalist brings methods into England brings No Hope. no hope to the toilers.

At present the workers are being told that salvation lies in the amalgamation of their unions. Just as though federation without a clear grasp of the need for ending the wages system were the "one thing needful." The General Federation of Trade Unions, Tom Marn tells us, offers the best machinery for the An algamaticn.

We want to see Socialist unicnism, but before that can come about we must make Socialists. Hence our activity inside and cutside trade unions. We defend upon concerted Socialist action, guided, disciplined, and inspired by the Socialist ideal. The "Direct Actionist," on the other hand, relies upon the stampede of the semieducated toilers into the Syndicalist camp-at the psychological moment, as one has it-spasmodic action which leads to defeat, apathy, and often to massacre.

The Socialist Party declares that economic action is not sufficient. Its chief function lies in making the best of our daily strugglesthough it aids in giving the moral strength for final victory. We therefore organise the toilers to capture the political machine and wrest political supremacy from their masters.

The mass of Syndicalists declare political action anathema. History is a dead letter to them: its lessons are unheeded.

That the master class rely upon political supremacy for their mastery becomes plainer every day. France, as we have said, is the pet example of the Syndicalist. And in that very land the political power of the master class has been used to break strikes with melancholy repetition.

Since M. Casimia Perier massacred men, women, and children during the Fourmies strike in 1891 till Briand's butchery at Draveil in 1908. these episcdes have been numerous.

France, with her street-fights of '48 drowned in blood, with her butchery of the immortal Commune of 71: does she not prove the lesson that Karl Marx drove home so well, as to the imperative need of political action by an organised working class:

Note well that these massacres by the armed forces of the State have gone on side by side with the Anti-Militarist Propaganda of the Syndicalists.

In their attitude toward the armed forces the Syndicalists have turned a somersault.

they informed us that the army could be rendered powerless by the Quick Change workers ceasing work. When the Artistes. Socialists had pointed out, and subsequent events had proved, that the soldiers, by their marvellous weapons of destruc-

and their command of the means of communication, held the upper hand, the "Direct Actionists" fell back on Anti-Militarism - the policy of converting the army thus admitting the Socialist contention that the control of the armed forces was the key to the position.

The Anti-Militarists, in France or elsewhere, in confining their efforts to impressing the soldiers, overlook important facts. We have already shown that Auti Militarism in France has had little influence -and remember, with a conscript army it had the best material. But a little consideration should show that Socialists will get better results, for some time to come, at any rate, by seeking converts amongst the civil portion of the working class.

Think what a soldier becomes! He is not easily influenced by Socialist education. He is used to acting entirely under orders. Drilled, disciplined, and instructed by all-powerful regulations, he become almost an automatom —a mai without initiative, without the ability to take up a revolutionary sociological position. While we hope that some, at least, of our soldier fellows will embrace Socialism, we know that far surer and quicker results can be obtained by carrying on propaganda amongst those outside the army

The Anti-Militarists devote their attention to the soldier, but forget that the majority of the working class must be made Socialist before Socialism is possible

Syndicalists have looked upon Gustave Hervê as a pillar of their cause. Tom Mann himself tells us that Hervê and his piper "La Guerre Sociale," are among the most noted forces making for "Direct Action" in France. True. M. Hervè has for years ridiculed reliance upon political action and supported many Syndicalist ideas, but writing after the German elections this "Direct Actionist" said :

"Truly I begin to ask myself whether with our big words about insurrection, direct action, sabotage, and tossing capitalists in a blanket, we are not, from a revolutionary view-point, like little children beside the German voters."—"La Guerre Sociale," 17.1.12.

This frank admission is prefaced by the state ment that the General Confederation of Labour is a body "with ludicrous forces, penniless treasuries, and papers without readers.

The ideals of Syndicalism and Socialism are as the poles apart. The former are stated in 'The Syndicalist" as: "The Mines to the Min-"The Railways to the Railwaymen"!

They have imported the whole foolish policy. bag and baggage, from France. There the large number of peasant holders and the prevalence of the Anarchist fever has led to dreams of the revival of petty enterprise. Utopians, with no conception of the law of economic necessity, they wish "time to turn backwards in its flight"!

The mines to the miners" policy could merely result in a society of conflicting interests. Groups of owners, like the co-operative societies and the corporations, would be engaged in a continual struggle with each other. Instead of the Socialist ideal of the ownership by the whole people in common of the land, railways, factories and so on, the Syndicalists wish to strengthen the property foundation of society.

We, on the other hand, want to abolish the sectional ownership of the means of life, no matter who compose the sections.

The irony of the Syndicalists' policy is that the very men who deny the importance of political action are the first to find themselves seized by the forces in the hands of those who hold political power. Liberals prove themselves just as unscrupulous as Tories in using their control of the political forces to suppress those who denounce their bloody rule. And more significant -the friends of an arrested "Direct Actionist" may often be seen in the legislative chambers, urging members of Parliament to take action

From these recent cowardly prosecutions the need for political action is more marked than

A&Central Economic Class is being held on Sandland St., W.

The Marylebone comrades are holding propaganda meetings in Hyde Park on Thursday, Friday, and Sunday evenings.

BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND.

THERE'S none so blind as those who won't see Lord MacDonnell, as chairman of the discussion on the financial aspect of Home Rule which took place at the London School of Economics, under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society,

"The responsibility lies at the present time on England of raising the standard in Ireland and improving the country and finishing the work, which began under the Land Purchase Act, of creating a peasant proprietary, who give every hope and sign that they will grow into a self-reliant and self-respecting people, not likely to be influenced by the Socialistic movement of thought which obtains so much influence in England."

Thus his lordship, like all capitalists, admits in practice, the truth of the Socialist principle of the class struggle: that the material interest, as understood, determines the political activity of any given class. To increase anti-working class forces it is therefore necessary to spread the material interest that arises from private ownership. Hence the Land Purchase Act, and the world wide endeavour to foster peasant proprietorship.

While acting in accordance with this principle, however, the propertied class will never formally admit its truth. To do so would be to enlighten the workers and endanger capitalist supremacy. The intellectual pap served out to the propertyless must be flavoured with the blessed dogmas of the "community of interest." and the "national" welfare. And there are not wanting blatant dogmatists in the pseudo-Socialist camp to aid the enemy in spreading these pernicious superstitions.

But is the general endeavour to create a class of peasant owners as a bulwark against Socialism likely to be successful? By no means. The mills of economic development grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small. With all their power the capitalists cannot reverse the economic trend Proof of this is given in the identical issue of the daily paper which reported Lord MacDonnell. It there stated that the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the effects of breaking up large estates has presented its report to the President of the Board of Agriculture, and that its recommendations are against tenant purchase. Why? Let the ex-Minister for Agriculture, Lord Carrington, supply the answer. On the same day that the items appeared, he said, in defence of small holding tenancy as against ownership, at a dinner of the South Lincolnshire and Norfolk Small Holdings Association, that: -

"A system of tenancy under a public authority was the only one which would be permanent, and would ensure, not only the creation, but the preservation when created, of small

holdings. And this is how peasant ownership fails; he

"One well known and respected farmer in this neighbourhood has absorbed over thirty former small holdings. Is it not notorious that a very large part of the work done in the lawvers' offices in your towns is concerned with the negotiation of mortgages on small freeholds. and that it is rarely the case that a small holding remains in the occupation of the same family for more than one generation?

"I am told that in one large parish of 12,000 acres there are only two cases in which a small freehold has remained in the same family for the last forty years.

'The universal experience of every country in Europe proves that the death of the occupying owner almost always results either in the excessive sub-division of the holding among his heirs, and the creation of uneconomic holdings, or in the sale of the holding and its probable absorption into a large farm.

Thus peasant proprietorship is Capitalism's broken reed. But since economic development makes impossible the growth of a class of pea sant proprietors, the ruling class must, perforce, fall back on what appears to them to be the next best thing, and the next best for Capitalism is equally hopeless.

Scientific Socialism has all along been per-

feetly clear on the inevitability of the concentration of land and capital, and it is, by contrast, amusing to note the theoretic blindness of the exploiting class. Only after painful and repeated failure to make economic evolution dance to their tin whistle do they stop to take breath, and then it is only to recommence the self same task in an equally futile way. But they built high hopes on the raising of a peasant owner class as a first line of defence against revolution, and now, when their greatest advocate of small holdings is compelled to proclaim the hopelessness of peasant proprietorship, it may be said that a Daniel. yea Daniel, has come to judgment.

JOTTINGS. --:0:--

To the list of ardent and anxious supporters of "our navy" we may now add the name of Mr. J. Keir Hardie, the gentleman who spoke on behalf of the "Anti-Armaments Crusade" during 1910. In addressing a meeting recently (2.3.12) at Troedyrhim, Merthyr, Mr. Hardie said

"In Wales there was a special reason why the mines should be nationalised - in order that the country should have a supply of coal, without which the navy was powerless and helpless.'

To get the full, rich flavour of this it must be contemplatively rolled round the mouth together with this choice "nip" from his speech at Dundee on October 27, 1910:

" If war was being threatened, the duty was incumbent on the working classes to strike work, stop supplies, stop the railways and shipping, and cease making the guns and material for war.

Mr. Hardie further said:

"Then, when nationalised, their battles would be fought, not in their own towns and villages, but in the British House of Commons.

And how well their cause would be championed in the British House of Commons by J. Keir Hardie and his fellow "Labour" M.P.s, is foreshadowed by their past actions; for instance, their refusal to vote for THEIR OWN AMEND MENT to better the wages and conditions of employment of employees in Government fac-tories (military) in 1910 when the Army Estimates were being discussed. And a further instance: Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald's recent statement that it was "high time" that the civil servants were told that they have got to submit to the same terms as their fellow wage slaves in the outside market.

By the way, it is reported that Mr. Macdonald has at last found someone daring enough to tread on the tail of his coat. He has issued a writ, we read, against an individual who presumed to declare that his actions show that he is after a political job, and who unfavourably compared his conduct with the "honesty" (ye gods and little fishes) of Messrs. Lansbury and Snowden.

How perilously near to the first offence many of us have come in the columns of the Socialist STANDARD! And how much we might say if we could afford the luxury of a writ for libel? But the comparison—we could never have done that. Perhaps, if it comes into the courts, we may learn how the conduct of Mac and the others is to be distinguished.

"The Same Old Game" says a one-time music-hall ditty. And its the same old game the one-time S.D.P., now B.S.P., are playing as they played years ago. "Justice," commenting (2.3.12) on the St. Rollox bye-election (where the Liberal majority was reduced from 3.298 to 469) said :-

"We are glad to think that our Glasgow comrades materially helped this result, although we cannot but regret they were unable to put up a candidate . and thereby enable thousands of workmen to vote 'straight Socialist' The actual result is the next best thing to that.'

The "actual result" was the reduction of the Liberal majority. And while the organ of the B.S.P. is chortling over the assistance "our Glasgow comrades" have rendered the Tories in this matter, let us glance at an "Appeal leaflet issued by the B.S.P.

The British Socialist Party, therefore, alike in economics and ethics, is a revolutionary organisation. As such it refuses to ally itself to any party which upholds the present system of

The B.S.P. refuses to ally itself with the upholders of the present system because it is a revolutionary organisation "in economics and Evidently, then, the reason it allies itself with the Tories on the political field to down the Liberals, is because, when the BSP. leaves "economics and ethics" and enters the political arena, it ceases to be a revolutionary organisation

In other words, when it is a matter of gas, they are revolutionaries (sometimes), but when it comes to action they are reactionaries (every

Well, so it was with the S.D.F., and there is an old saying concerning "What's bred in the

"Justice" said on March 2nd, that the Government had sided with the colliery proprietors against the miners. But then so had the allies of the B.S.P. For said Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons:

"We recognise also that there is a responsi bility upon everyone who has influence in this House, and we shall certainly do nothing which it lies in our power to avoid, to increase the difficulties of the Government in this matter.'

And it seems to me to be as plain as a pikestaff that since the Tories have sided against the miners, why, so have their allies who helped them to make such a hole in the Liberal majority in the recent bye election at St. Rollox -- the B.S.P. to wit. The cloven hoof wants a lot of hiding, and those to whom the dubious appendage belongs will doubtless soon be casting about for another cloak.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Anarchists; Their Faith and their Record." By E. A. Vizetally. London : John

"Our National Food Supply." By James Lumsden. 1s. net. Fisher Unwin.

"Dreams." By Olive Schreiner. 2s. net. Unwin. "The Autobiography of a Working Man." By

Adelheid Popp. With introductions by Agust Bebel and J. Ramsay Macdonald. 3s. 6d. net. Unwin. 3 35

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. S. (Nottingham.) - Sorry current events again crowd out reply to your queries. Will reply in our next

A. T. (Toronto) and others.—The S.P.G.B. still consistently maintains the Socialist position against all comers. As is amply shown by your quotations from the "S.S.," the Party from its incep tion has ruthlessly exposed the "reformer," and has shown the futility of working for "reforms." Do not be too ready to accept what enemies of the Party allege as to its "secondary objects," etc. The S.P.G.B. has but one object—Socialism— and all its effort is directed to that end. Read the answer to "W.B. in our February, to issue carefully and you will see that we simply decline to dogmatise as to all that may happen in the future and that we therefore leave it to the Socialist working class of the time to act in the light of the class struggle in its own real interest. The Socialist attitude of anti-capitalism, reformed or otherwise, is put forward in all our literature, and by all our speakers, and would similarly be put by all our elected representatives. Nevertheless occasion might arise when we should have to fight and vote for things that, though not Socialism, were vet involved in it, and of supreme importance to the working class in its struggle for emancipation.

"CONSTANT READER" (Manchester) .- Your criticism of our article on Rates and Taxes will be dealt

A. (Rugby.)-Matter in hand.

Enquirer (Southend.) The quotation given from John Bright's speech should have been dated 1869, not

THE COST OF LIVING.

"The Rise in Prices and The Cost of Living: An Enquiry into its Fxtent and Causes." Prof. Ashley. London; "Evening News." 14.

In this namphlet Professor Ashley has tabulated some of the statistics bearing on the question of the cost of living. He estimated the rise in prices between 1896 and 1911 to be no less than 24 per cent., of which over 16 per cent., or two thirds, is due to the depreciation of gold.

Owing to greater facilities and more economical processes and machinery, the world's production of gold has increased steadily from 24.6 million pounds in 1890 to 93.6 million in

With regard to the future, Professor Ashley anticipates a slackening of this rate of increase

"The annual output may go on increasing though it is observable that the pace was distinctly slackened in 1910. According to some figures in the "Times" of Jan. 2, 1912, from an apparently well informed correspondent in the Transvaal, the yield of gold per ton milled on the Rand fell steadily from 35.8 shillings in 1905 to 27.9 shillings in the first nine months of 1911. Working costs were also reduced, and for a few years in even greater proportion, so that working profit rose; but since 1908 it has been found impossible to reduce costs any further, and working profits have fallen from 13.9 shillings to 9.66 shillings per ton."

He adds, however:

'Even if the output of gold from the present sources becomes stationary or dwindles, it is, of course, always possible that new deposits may be found, or cheaper processes discovered of extraction '

The question of the depreciation of the mea sure of value has a very important bearing on working-class psychology. When the value of gold rises and prices are consequently falling, it requires much less struggling on the part of worker to maintain his standard of comfort. But when gold falls in value and prices steadily rise. the reverse condition obtains. To simply hold on is then to be gradually crushed. It becomes absolutely necessary to struggle for a rise in money wages. The workers are awakened from their torpor, and the habit of struggle is engendered; at the same time that the imperative necessity of it is felt. Thus the depreciation of gold quickens the influence of general economic development in fostering revolt and spreading the revolutionary spirit.

In the pamphlet, statistics of unemployment are given, which show a general decline since 1899, side by side with the rise in prices. No statistics of wages in this country are given by Professor Ashley, which is at once unfortunate and significant. He says :-

"How far wages may have failed, if at ail, during the last 15 years, to keep pace with the increased cost of living, would be a subject for a separate investigation.'

Indeed, a competent enquiry into this matter would be a veritable eye-opener to those pretentious journalists and politicians who are floundering in their efforts to invent a plausibly learned explanation of the essentially simple phenomena of "labour unrest."

A comparison of the movement of statistics, such as these contained in this pamphlet, and the political features of the corresponding periods, provokes interesting, if inconclusive, reflection. Amongst other things, is it mere coincidence that the period of falling prices was Conservative in politics, while the rise in prices finds "social reform" to the fore? It would suggest an explanation of Liberal ascendancy. Fraudulent though Liberalism is, and futile though the effort of the worker be to get "some thing now" by such means, yet very many uneducated, unclass conscious toilers have been duped, and impelled to a desperate attempt to arrest advancing misery, they have supported their worst enemies for lack of understanding that there is a better way.

In this misdirection of the workers, the

Labour Party, as the decoy ducks of Liberalism, have much to answer for.

But every year sees a growing working-class disgust with the Dead Sea fruit of Liberal-cum-

Labourism, and a wider spread of sound Socialist knowledge among the mass. Nourished by the normal development of capitalism, the tree of working class knowledge will in due time come to fruition. Unlike the illegical mysteryman of the Gospels, we do not curse the tree because it bears not fruit to-day, " for the season of the figs is not yet." But the promise is great, and we have the confidence that is born of knowledge in the fulness of time.

To return to the pamphlet under review, however, it may be said that on the whole it contains useful information, and supplies the Socialist with further indisputable facts which demonstrate the soundness and adequacy of his theory, and show once more that he alone holds the key to what is called the 'Social Problem.'

CHRISTIANITY & THE TOBACCO TRUST.

THREE OPEN LETTERS.

:0:--"THE Y.M C.A. LONDON CAMPAIGN.

"The Y.M.C.A. Campaign Committee in London yesterday evening issued a statement that at six o'clock (closing the twelfth day of the attempt to raise £100,000 in twelve days), the amount secured totalled £66,777. This includes £1,000 received yesterday from the Imperial Tobacco Company. The campaign will still be continued for the purpose of raising the balance of the £100,000, which is urgently required."

"Manchester Guardian," 24.1 12. "OTHER DIVIDENDS.

"Imperial Tobacco: 30 per cent. dividend and £500,000 to the reserve."—(Same paper.)

Young Men of the Y.M.C.A.,

Sirs, -As you are such prolific consumers of fags," it is meet that the tobacco Croesus should lavishly contribute to your spiritual sustenance. Rarely have I seen such a happy conteguity as between the paragraphs cited above. You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours seems to be the basis of friendship. You of the Y.M.C.A. are the elite amongst cadgers. In every dirty industrial town your premises are to be seen, with the inevitable secretary, whose dirty work is to dun the newly rich and sleek aldermanic capitalists to find cash wherewith to organise scouts, prayer-meetings, sing-songs, and debating societies that dare not debate. Your position is contemptible. Lacking the financial resources for the provision of any recreative facilities, you meanly fawn before your bosses and beg them to disgorge a minute proportion of the wealth which you have created. Like the 'niggers" at the seaside, you hold out your hat with: "may I have the privilege of your patronage?" Nay, far worse! The "niggers" are conscious that their slaver is only humbug, but you, pious and deluded young men, are earnest in your suppliant cringing to industrial bosses and trusts. Such an attitude is the result of the religious parcotics which your bosses' spiritual lackeys use to dull your senses. Narcotics! are not tobacco and religion alike narcotics? It is evidently a logical partnership—Tobacco Trust

Clergymen of Britain.

Dear Sirs, - Priests of both sorts, n arried and unmarried, have a like aim- the perpetuation of that system which is represented by the Tobacco Trust as giver, and the Y M.C.A. as grateful recipient. Humbugs and practiced touts! You are worse—far more mean, than the young men of the Y.M.C.A. who receive monies for "recreative" purposes. You are the men of thought-of trained intellect-masters of your passions- ethical instructors; and yet the least in the Y.M.C.A. is better than the greatest amongst you. These youths are ignorant; many amongst you must know all- must despise the fatty hearted owners of those tables under which know those fortunate capitalist blockheads who dole out their alms and charities. See the position of the youth of the Y.M.C.A.! They are

(Continued on page 62.)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on th Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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Twelv	e Months				1s. 6d.
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The Socialist Standard,



APR. 1, 1912.

THE STRIKE

AND ITS LESSONS.

A million miners are out on strike. From the ferment around us one might think they were asking for the mines. Every foul epithet and calumny is being hurled at them by the hireling Press. It is they who are unpatriotic; it is they who are ruining the trade of the country; it is they who are bringing the people to starvation. No one suggests that the mine-owners, who cling so tightly to the last atom of profit which they can screw out of those who go down into the pits, are culpable.

Of course not. Is it not only fair and just that capital should have its reward? and who can say that the mine-owner is any too well recompensed for his risk and his labour? Not the capitalist papers, certainly.

These drew many fancy pictures of the fabulous wages and astonishing luxury of the miners, and marvelled that there was anything left for the owners at all. Yet within a week of the men ceasing work the Press rang with the cries of the miners starving wives and childern, and Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., showed from the Income Tax returns that in the last nine years the owners had made over 200 million pounds out

of the unpaid labour of the workers It is stated that the granting of the minimum wage would only cost £50,000 a year, which is less than 4 per cent. of the profit the masters take, and a very minute fraction of one per cent. on their capital. It is a pregnant demonstration of what the meaning of the word "patriotism" is on the masters' lips, when they plunge the country into such misery for the sake of so

insignificant a morsel of dividend Another lesson taught with irresistible force is the utter uselessness of the master class, for no sooner do the workers lay down their tools than production comes to a standstill. After this no one should have any doubt as to who produces the wealth of society, er should urge that we cannot get on without the capitalists.

Asquith and the Liberal Government have followed the usual course, but so far without the usual success. He has called conferences at which he has paraded the true Asquithian bluff But he had rather a difficult row to hoe this time, for the miners have not forgotten how the railwaymen were "Lloyd Georged" into going back to work with empty hands. After the conferences Asquith tried his trump card-Compulsory Arbitration -- in spite of the fact Mr. J. M. Robertson had told the House that countries which had Compulsory Arbitration suffered severely from "labour unrest."

The next move on Asquith's part was to bring in his Coal Bill. This was an audacious attempt to dish the miners by a fraudulent, hypocritical measure framed by lawyers to look a lot and give-nothing.

It was a measure to legalise the "principle"

of the Minimum Wage without stating the minimum. It provided for district conferences with a Board of Trade Chairman who would have the casting vote, and who was to decide the minimum if both sides failed to agree - a bright look-out indeed for the miners.

The trade union leaders -the Labour Partyvoted for the Second reading of the Bill, simply asking the Government to give them some se blance of minimum figures on which they could lure the men back to work.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said they agreed with the principle of the Bill and would do all they could to get it through. But the Bill was a measure that called for the fiercest opposition of any workmen's representative.

It was simply a dodge to get the men back to the mines with depleted funds, and therefore in a much worse position than before. That accomplished, it offered them nothing but delay, -the machinery for the fight for the minimum. with all the weapons in the masters' hands.

Every loophole, every safeguard, was provided for the masters. So much so was this that Mr Macdonald was able to point out to the Government that they need not be afraid to put the figures 5s. and 2s. in the Bill because there were safeguards in it by which the minimum could be reduced. According to the "Daily News!" (March 23) he said: "Does the House understand what it is doing? It can put on the 5s. and 2s. and make these figures subject to sub section 4 of clause 2 of the Bill.'

This acceptance by the Labour Party of a minimum that was not a minimum was seized upon by the Government, and they immediately proposed another conference upon it.

It is easy to see the game both the mine-owners and the Government are playing, indeed, it has been hinted at in these words by the "Daily

"The owners are convinced that if the strike goes on . . . labour as a whole will be bled white, and utter exhaustion will be the beginning of a long peace."

The Government have been dallying and de laying in order to let starvation do its work. They know how slender are the trade unions resources, and that the masters can afford to sit in calm confidence amidst their luxury while the men stumble on to surrender.

The miners' leaders, such as Brace, Edwards, Mabon," Harvey, and Stanley, are imbued with the ideas of the master class. Above all they want peace, peace at any price. Their security of their jobs and their position is their first and last consideration. Every device to humble the men and to weaken their position has been tried during this strike.

How treacherous they are the 1910 South Wales Miners' strike showed. When the South Wales Federation ran out of funds the English Federation rejuctantly came to their aid, but after five months the men's strike pay was stopped. and Mr. Thomas Ashton, the secretary, bitterly denounced the strikers and helped to drive them back under a worthless agreement with the masters.

The majority of trade unionists, unfortunately, do not yet understand the bitter conflict of interests between the owners and the toilers - the Class Struggle. They, like their leaders, do not yet see the only remedy for them and theirs. They have to look beyond the details of the present system and take an intelligent part in that great struggle in which they are the unconparticipants. They must understand scious clearly that while the master class control the political machine they control their lives. They have possession of that power which orders the armed forces to butcher them when they attempt to take the wealth they have produced

The workers must capture that political machine in order to take over the means of life for themselves, to be owned in common, and used in the common interest. Surely the hardships and misery that strikes involve, so terribly out of proportion with what is gained by them, and so hopeless, must drive the toilers to seek a better way. The saner, surer method for a real and permanent triumph is for the workers to no longer submit to be "leadered," but to learn their own politics, understand their own interests, realise their own destiny, and rely upon their own courage and strength and intelligence to bear them on to that destiny—their emancipation through Socialism.

A CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

Universities, having grown out of cathedral schools, have ever been pillars of the Church. In this country these "seats of learning" are even more bigoted and reactionary than the rest of the ruling class. Here is an example.

There is now being published by the Cambridge University Press, a new work called "The Cambridge Medieval History," in the words of a familiar advertisement, as a supreme product of a great university. If past experience of a bulkier product from the same source is a guide, copies are already being specially reserved for us, and soon we may expect the postman's knock to herald the avalanche of Yankee swank inadequately describing its merits. It is not, however, marriage of medieval thought with hustling methods of advertisement that need concern us here. Perpend.

'The Observer," an influential Conservative organ, has reviewed the first volume of this eventful history, and some of its remarks are worthy of note. It said:

"After a glance at the table of contents one is not surprised to find that the book has a strong theological bias. . . . Whereas Gibbon assailed Christianity with the most subtle reasoning, the present volume assumes (an assumption which the facts of the period show in a peculiar light) that the rise of Christianity was the steady conquest of good over evil: fine theology, doubtless, but a little presumptuous, perhaps, as history. This is seen, too, in the importance given to the actual creed of Christianity as apart from its importance as a political factor or organisation.

Your theologion is ever the greatest falsifier of history. He writes "history," invents an Atheist shoemaker, and imagines a death bed scene of a Darwin, with but a single aim-the greater glory of his trade. And "The Observer" goes on to say:

"It is Professor Gwatkin (The Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, one of the editors) who is the most marked partisan; he writes of 'the heathens' with a scornful unction, seen in his description of Constantine's anxiety to unite Paganism and Christianity. . . . And he writes a little later: 'After all, Christianity is not a monotheistic philosophy, but a life in Christ,' a definition which is, of course, clear as sunlight to the initiated, but is the kind of phraseology which is better suited for a British Weekly than for a European History. After all, Christians and not 'heathens' scraped the philosopher Hypatia to death with tiles in the church called Cæsarium, A.D. 415."

"In consequence, however, of such ideas as those expressed by Professor Gwatkin, one turns back to the wider view of Gibbon or of Dill with an added recognition of its value. Whatever the influence of religion may be upon individuals, it is generally the authority a nation gives itself for doing what is profitable.

The Italics are our own. It would appear that, in the best informed

capitalist circles -as distinct from the bigoted medieval obscurantism of the theologians—a dim recognition of the essential truth of the Socialist case against religion cannot be suppressed. Like murder, it will out.

DEBATE AT CALEDONIAN RD. BATHS.

Most successful was the debate organised by our Islington comrades between Mr. A. E. Moise, of the North London Christian Evidence League. and F. Vickers, as champion of the S.P.G.B.

The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. so that the doors had at length to be shut. Fully 1.000 were present. The collection realised £4 7s. 0d. and the sale of literature 13s. 6d.

Mr. Moise made the best of a bad case, but Comrade Vickers simply wiped his every contention away.

S. HAMMOND, Sec. Islington Branch.

CO-PARTNERSHIP AND THE STRIKE.

The coal strike has occupied the attention of our masters during the past month, and "remedies"

April, 1912.

galore have been propounded.

Liberal and Tory Press alike have agreed that the action of the miners in their attempt to obtain a living wage is to be condemned, and that the Government "would be justified in taking any measures to secure industrial peace.

Among the many "remedies" proposed to "end the strike" is one that requires consideration from the Socialist -not because it is worthy of support, but because it is most likely to mislead the working class into the belief that the struggle between "master and man" can be

I refer to the scheme, now in operation in many industrial concerns, known as co-partnership, or profit-sharing.

The aim of co partnership is two-fold, but in the main the object is to prevent strikes by suggesting that the workers are interested in the concern they jeopardise by "downing tools."

The attitude of the miner in the recent upheaval denotes a recognition, on the part of the toilers, that they have interests directly opposed to those of their employers. It shows that, while not conscious of their class position, they realise something of the never ending struggle which goes on in all branches of industry where capitalism rules -based as it is upon the robbery of one section of the people, who produce all the wealth, by another section, who merely assist in the consumption of that wealth.

Co-partnership promises to abolish this antagonism by introducing a scheme whereby the employee can, by an accumulative bonus, obtain shares in, and so be part proprietor of, the business in which he is employed.

Now the Socialist does not object to the abolition of strife (unless it be to replace war with massacre). He is, however, compelled to oppose a scheme that proposes to merely deaden the realisation by the working class of the existence of conflicting interests in society.

Because the scheme, like all other capitalist schemes, cannot abolish the class war; cannot in any way alter the actual relationship between robber and robbed.

Co partnership must be opposed because it is introduced to cajole the employee into quiescence by an apparent dole or bonus. Because it does not act in reality as a benefit at all when considered from the standpoint of the workers as a class.

Why is there a class war?

Class wars are not made by agitators, as the "Daily Express" would have us believe. Agitators merely give voice, more or less correctly. to the inarticulate resistance of the labourer. The struggle of the wealth producers is a struggle for a share of the world's wealth, as against the masters, who desire a greater share than they already obtain.

The capitalist in any concern requires his dividend every half year, some part of which is capitalised, and required to bear further dividend the next half year. Constantly increasing capital demands constantly increasing profit, and in order to get that profit constantly expanding markets are necessary. Markets can only be captured by cheapening production. Commodities must be cheaply produced.

Now the average price of all commodities (measured over a period sufficient to negate the fluctuations) is determined essentially by the amount of labour contained within them, hence to produce a cheaper article the labour-power expended in its production must be reduced.

It is not essential to the cheaper production of commodities, that the individual workman must be "poorly" raid, for, as has been shown in these columns, the "highly priced" cotton operative of Lancashire can produce more cheaply than the "cheap" cotton worker of Japan. Wages are lower in Lancashire, relative to the amount of wealth produced, than in Japan

In the production of a given amount of commodities it matters little whether the number of employees remain the same and the individual wage is reduced, or the numbers are reduced at

cle (measured by wages) has been reduced in both instances, and in the bulk the workers have suffered a reduction.

The wage to the individual may even increase (either by a "rise," a "bonus," or by interest on a real or fictitious share), yet if such an increase is accompanied by a reduction in the staff relative to the total output, then the working class is in a worse position than before, and the benefits accrue to the masters only.

The essence of co-partnership then is: to give

a sense of proprietorship to its slaves and so minimise the danger of constantly recurring strikes and, further, to encourage the employee to-produce more wealth by the offer of a modi cum of the increased product.

The greater productivity of labour, no matter how caused, necessarily implies an increase in unemployment. The speeding-up that is going on in the firms that have introduced "profit sharing," without a relative increase in the purchasing-power of the employees, must mean a worsening of conditions.

By what means are wages determined? Es sentially by the cost of living. When the price of necessaries rise (as they are doing to-day, in spite of cheap production), the workers have to struggle for increased wages to meet the extra cost of living. The army of unemployed is the chief force those in employ have to contend with when seeking an advance of wages, and co partnership, by providing additional unemployed strengthens the force which keeps wages down And it further disarms the poor slave by kidding him to kill himself more quickly in order to obtain a bonus which is eventually knocked off his wage, and to refrain from striking for fear of damaging "his own business."

A recent report, taken from the "Daily Tele graph of March 7th, 1912, of the "profit-sharing" mine of Montceau-les-Mines, France, is a typical example of how well co partnership works -for the mine-owners.

"The Compagnie de Blanzy, which owns all the mines in the district over a radius of some fifteen miles, and covering ten parishes, got into trouble with its miners in 1906. After stormy proceedings, the company at last settled the disputes with the miners by promising to let them have a share in the profits. The share of the miners amounted, in the first year, to 300,000f. Then it rose to 600,000f, and it has increased in the same progression ever since. until to day it is 1,500,000f. There are now 7,905 miners entitled to share in the profits, making about 190f which each of them receives. So far the miners are content, but on the other hand they also complain that as their share is in proportion to wages they are able to earn, and these, again, are proportioned to their work. they are really not any better off than they were before. They complain, too, that they have to work more. There are in consequence 300 more accidents a year, and whereas, fourteen years ago, there were nearly 10,000 miners, there are to day some 2,000 fewer. Yet the mines have to produce the same quantity or more to obtain the necessary profit.

"This also throws some light on the wages earned by French miners. The French miners in the Northern Departments and in the Pas de Calais earn on an average only 5f 34c a day, equivalent to about 4s. 31d. This is but an average, and is not the minimum so much spoken of latterly, which can hardly be fixed from any reliable statistics. The miners of Montecau les - Mines, however, counting their profit sharing receipts into the bargain, do not carn as much as the miners in the North. Their average earnings are only 5f 30c a day'

Just so with all schemes introduced with so much bluster by business men. The English capitalist gives nothing away. He merely invests, and if profit can be obtained from copartnership he is there every time.

Corbet Woodhall, the "governor" of the Gas, Light and Coke Co., introducing the "Co-partner's Magazine" (Jan. 1911), states that the scheme has given a shadow of the old personal relations between employer and employed, the same individual wage. The cost of the arti- "which had in a large part disappeared." This

strengthened sense of comradeship, he says, "appears to me to be amongst the best boons o partnership," while "he the employee] takes on the dual responsibility of the proprie tor and workman and has the best of reasons for realising that his interest is one with the whole investment.

This is the sort of cant that is spouted by the directors and managers to the employees, who, since the introduction of "c -partnery," have been made to work at a speed that few of them would have tolerated prior to the introduction of the scheme, and which will necessitate the expense of lunatic asylums for many of the copartners on the staff

The result of the speeding-up has been that at the quarterly meeting on Aug. 4th, 1911, it was reported that "more business is being done at a less standing expense." In reducing the price of gas to 2s. 6d. per 1,000 ft. it was hoped that "under the existing prudent administration the revenue will be elastic enough to support this further relinquishment of £100,000 a year.

A further £100,000 to be squeezed out of the employees, who are asked to rejoice thereat because another 1 per cent. or so is to be paid to their "shares."

About 30 gas companies in England have entered into the scheme, and as, by Act of Parliament, they cannot increase dividends without decreasing the price of gas; and as the price of gas is going down, no more need be said as to whether or not the scheme pays-from the shareholders' point of view!

Earl Gray, in an interview with a "Daily Chronicle" representative (28.2.12), tells us: -

"Co partnership is a kind of Socialism -a Socialism applied piecemeal, a Socialism plus common sense and the ten Commandments. When we have brain enough and conscience enough we may be able to nationalise everything. But for that the time is not ripe Whereas Co partnership can be adopted tomorrow.'

We can let it pass at that. Socialism and Copartnership are as two poles. The latter has as its object the sharing of the profits, produced by the workers, with the shirkers, giving the biggest share to the stockholders, who produce nothing. The object of the former, on the other hand, is to abolish profit.

When asked the inevitable question: "Will t pay?" the noble earl replied

"Sir George Livesey told me that there never was a prouder moment in his life than when he was able to stand up before his shareholders and tell them that, as the result of Co partnership and the spirit of brotherhood it engendered the company had been able (1) to pay their em ployees higher wages than were paid to any other gas workers in the kingdom, (2) to pay the shareholders a higher dividend, and (3) to sell gas at a lower price."

The old wheeze - "a benefit to all." ose sight of the fact that all profit is produced by the worker and that the extra profits have been wrung out of the gas worker for the benefit of the consumer and the stock-holder.

As was pointed out in the "Bystander" by one of our comrades, in reply to another advocate of Co partnership, the cause of the "labour unrest" is not touched by profit-sharing. He says ("Bystander" 13.3.12

"The cause of the labour 'unrest' existing is but the struggle of the subject section to lift up their share of the wealth produced to the level of the increased cost of living due to the rise in prices.

The only solution to the problem lies in the abolition of the cause of the misery that is, the private ownership in the means of life.

The forces of production are growing more social day by day, both in character and operation. To restore harmony there must be social ownership both of the means, and of the product. of social labour —a labour based upon the needs of Society, not the profit of a class.

And that is Socialism.

TWEL.

ERRATUM.

"Working class," line 44, middle col., page 55, las issue should be "ruling class."

"Christianity and Tobacco." - Continued.

first used as a means of profit making, and then part of the profit is grudgingly offered back to them. It is as if you were to steal (we can imagine it) from a wayfarer, and then offer him back a minute portion of the plunder; not only that, but as if you were to expect the robbed way farer to be grateful to you for returning a portion of his own wealth. Does not the whole business sevour of a joke? You who pander to the robber and tend his soul-and guard his commodities, we do not expect you to take the side of the robbed: boodle and graft are not there. But in spite of you, in spite of capitalist propping up of Y.M.C.A. and the like, you are doomed Time is on our side; things are moving our Your pagodas are laxly attended; your lauding of poverty as something temporary, to be followed by bliss in the New Jerusalem, is becoming a stock joke. On your side are capitalistic wealth, and your humbug or idiocy-on onrs are science and the organised workers. Such a combination will sweep the tobacco trust and all other trusts, and their pious hangers on, into the limbo of used up things.

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Dear Sir,- Can you solve the problem of the Y.M.C.A. and the tobacco trust? You would, I know, skit and drastically condemn a social system having such phenomena for its results. But that alone does not warrant the worker placing dependence in you: Maddison and "Mabon" and Sir William Bull would also admit the imperfection of capitalism. You claim to be afraid of the servile State, of industrial Illster and Black Country and North Germany. You advocate what you call "canalisation," the redistribution of property amongst the disinherited workers. You desire the 14th century in the 20th, and the next, and to transplant the conditions which preceded the industrial revolution and machinery to the social state resulting from these changes. You are a social

That this is an age of trusts. pools, combines, and arrangements of divers sorts 'twixt capitalists you would like to deny, but have the perspicuity to admit. You also admit the danger to the worker's "freedom" in the "commission for extra work" cunning of capitalists of the Lever type. Well then, the tobacco combine is a reality; it is possible that an able organiser may at any time put its employees on "profitsharing" terms. How have we to fight such a You are aware that State ownership is alien to Socialism, alien to democratic control of industry; what other alternative, then, but ownership by the workers? State ownership, co-partnership, or the present state of affairs (you admit) alike manufacture the servile worker - what alternative but Socialism? You talk of a panacea of your own, which, so far as one can judge, is either some hazy tentative kind of a pseudo-Socialism, under which the workers would have about as much influence over their industrial overlords as the Catholic laity have over the appointment of the priests, or a future in which the worker shall possess "stocks and shares in his own and other industries-a possession which shall be rendered as secure as possible and shall be hereditable in his family." or else an army of poverty-laden, rabidly competitive, small tobacco manufacturers, or-but one does not know for certain what you crave, except the reconciliation of Democracy and Catholicism- and at heart you cannot hope for that.

Capitalism," you say, "simply means that diseased condition arising in a State where the land and minerals and implements are owned by a few to the exclusion of the many." And, we can add, where the few (tobacco monopoly) attempt to chloroform the many (Y.M.C.A.) by doling out a wee portion of the plunder. you show us how the Holy Catholic Church can stop the giving of this social anaæsthetic? Will you give us evidence from your inspired encyclicals showing that your church has in the past shown a desire to come to blows with our industrial monomaniacs? You cannot, for your with gills. It follows the line of development church and Y.M.C.A. have like functions, are of the anthropoid ape, which is the last form it devilish decoys drawing the workers away from | leaves behind. manliness and ownership and freedom, making them instead stupidly contented, with eyes on there is a greater difference between the anthrotheir backs.

A GLANCE AT HISTORY.

ALTHOUGH a vast mass of scientific knowledge has been placed before us during the last century we still hear the same inveterate cries 'We can't change human nature"; "We can't change the system"; "It always has been and always will be."

These assertions are not so much due toeignorance as to want of thought. Ask anyone who uses these stock phrases whether the present system prevailed at the time of the Roman invasion, or if there has been no change in human nature since the period of cannibalism, and he will at once begin to perceive the absurdity of his statements.

The belief in the immutability of human nature necessarily follows from the acceptance of the Mosaic story of creation. But no intelligent person believes to day that, as Col. Ingersoll puts it, "a supreme being decided to make a world and one man out of nothing, and then, having used up all the nothing in the process, had to take a part of the man to start the woman

This belief held sway for many centuries and is still, unfortunately, adhered to by many ill informed people, and preached on behalf of those interested in the economic subjection of the working class. And this in spite of the fact that the theory of evolution since the time of Lamarck, Wallace, and Darwin in the demain of natural history, and of Marx and others in sociology, has been demonstrated up to the hilt.

Let us take a cursory glance at the panorama of lite and see if human nature is immutable and the system of society unchangeable.

Of the beginning of cosmological phenomena we know nothing. It is utterly impossible to conceive of a beginning or an end. But the Theist, in his ignorance, postulates a god as the cause of all things, ignoring the fact that the cause of God remains to be explained.

Since Science has proved the indestructibility of matter, it recognises no beginning or end of matter, but changeability of form.

Worlds are born of pre-existing matter and pass through the successive stages of maturity and decay. The earth upon which we exist was originally cast off from that rotating igneous sphere known as the sun, which was born of a mass of nebula similar to that seen by powerful telescores in the heavens at the present time, and analysed by means of the spectroscope. Early in its history the earth was in an incandescent state, and life could not have existed upon it. Gradually it cooled sufficiently to allow water to settle upon it.

The appearance of water brought with it the possibilities of organic life upon the globewhich first appeared as minute specks of protoplasm. Even to day there are organisms so low in the biological scale that the name organism, when applied to them, is a contradiction in terms, for they do not possess organs. Prof. Haeckel has told us ("Wonders of Life") that they are nearer in every respect to the crystals than to the next biological form, which is the cell stage, and the genesis of all organic life

All biological phenomena have evolved from the simple cell stage: the blade of grass and the giant Californian vegetation; the worm and the highest expression of organic life-mankind.

The life of every human being commences with the coalescence of two such cells from the male and female respectively. These cells propagate by simple cleavage, and in time form a ball-like cluster of cells. A depression is now formed, and this becomes the primitive mouth and gut. Continuing to feed, it assumes different forms existing even to day. At certain periods in the development of the human embryo it is so similar to other animal embryos, i.e., the dog, pig, etc., that scientists cannot distinguish it from them. Gradually the human embryo passes through many stages, including the fish stage,

Prof. Haeckel informs us that, anatomatically, heaven—and the employer and the parson on their backs.

John A. Dawson.

poid apes and the lower monkeys than there is between the former and man, while mentally

there is a greater difference between the lowest human beings and the highest developed races than there is between the lowest savages and the anthropoid apes.

After a lifelong study of the subject Prof.

Haeckel comes to the conclusion that the embryological development of the individual is but a recapitulation of the evolution of the species. "Evolution of Man" and "The Riddle of the Universe.")

Of course, the classification of organic life into species is necessarily arbitrary, and no strict line of demarcation can be drawn. We know that when the human race first evolved from its ancestors and embarked on its long journey (having covered up to the present time, according to Prof. L. H. Morgan, about 200,000 years)mankind would have been found living in the huge forests (which offered some protection from the wild beasts) and subsisting mainly on nuts and roots

In this very primitive condition man must have existed until the knowledge of the use of fire was acquired. This brought with it the possibility of a fish diet, and enabled him to emerge from his original habitat and commence the diffusion of the human race by straying along the banks of the rivers and huge lakes.

The invention of the bow and arrow brought with it a meat diet; and from this primitive stage one discovery has led to another until we reach the elaborate and scientific inventions of the present day. And these, after all, are nothing but an accumulation of small inventions brought down to us through the ages.

With the development of the means of production mankind has risen from one ethnological stage to another. Amongst the discoveries or inventions that have played a very prominent part in this advance, besides those mentioned above, were the invention of pottery, which Morgan makes the boundary between savagery and barbarism; the domestication of animals and the art of agriculture; the manufacture of iron; and finally that epoch making event, the discovery of the phonetic alphabet. This last Morgan proclaims the distinguishing feature between barbarism and civilisation.

Lewis Morgan has proved the truth of the statement of Marx and Engels that: "In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and the social intercourse necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and the intellectual history of that epoch." ("Communist Manifesto"

The progress of government which originated in savage society was based upon kin, its earliest expression being the council of the gens, which dealt with persons through their relation to the gens, as distinct from the form of government of to-day, which has a territorial basis. The council of the gens was a democratic assembly, because every male and female adult had a voice in all matters brought before it.

Higher in the development of gentile society came the tribes, which, to again quote Morgan, "are natural growths through separation of the same people in the area of their occupation, followed by divergence of speech, segmentation, and independence."

The tribe was a collection of several gentes all speaking the same dialect, and which had come into existence through an overgrowth of an original gens which had been forced, owing to the lack of the means of subsistence, to extend their geographical area. The different gentes were united for defensive purposes into a tribe, with a common council elected by democratic vote within the gens, while still later the confederacy was formed by the uniting of a number of tribes. Finally there took place the coalescence of the tribes, and the government, based upon a terriorial relation, as we have it to day, superseded the old form of gentile society based upon kin.

As with government so with all other institutions. The family life of the present day is the result of a gradual development through thousands of years from the promiscuous sexual intercourse of our primitive ancestors. The sexual relations have passed successively through the stage of the Cone anguine Family by the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, in a group; the Punaluan system, based upon the intermarriage of several sisters, own and collateral, in a group, to several hus-bands (not necessarily related to each other) in a group; and from this to the Syndyasmian or pairing family, which was only a temporary co-habitation, continuing during the pleasure of the parties concerned

April, 1912

Later we had the Patriarchal Family, with its marriage of one man to several wives, and finally the Monogamian Family -the general form in modern civilisation.

Away back in savage society, where the means of producing wealth were very small and living for the whole of society was very precarious, it was the widespread custom to eat prisoners of war. But with the development of the means of production enabling men to produce a surplus, cannibalism gave place to chattelslavery, as being of greater advantage to the captors.

Slavery has passed through three distinct phases -first, chattel slavery, in which the slave was the property of the master; secondly, serfdom, in which the serf was tied to the soil upon which he was born, and worked so many days for his feudal master, being free to till his own land during the remaining days; thirdly, wageslavery, in which the worker, instead of receiving food, clothing, and shelter direct from the master, is given its money equivalent.

So we find that instead of it always being as it was, everything throughout the known universe is perpetually changing. Had the means of life remained in the undeveloped condition in which we find them in primitive society, government, the family, religion, and the morality of the people could have made no advance. All human progress is bound up with the economic conditions, and what is considered moral in one age becomes immoral in the next. The marriage of brothers and sisters, cannibalism, and chattelslavery were each in their time quite moral, but

are now regarded with loathing.

In conclusion, just as chattel-slavery begat feudalism, and feudalism begat capitalism, so the latter is already enceinte with the embryo of the system of the future. Socialism is developing within the womb of its parent, capitalism, and the time when the working class, "acting as the midwife," will usher it into the world is

But Socialists do not claim that Socialism is the final goal of humanity. It lies next in the path of evolution, but that evolution will not cease with the coming of Socialism, but will continue until the earth becomes unable to sustain organic life longer, and the human race becomes extinct.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED -

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York).
 "New York Call" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York) "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "The Star of the East" (Melbourne).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London). "The New World" (West Ham).
- "Freedom" (London).

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

RETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham), AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,

JUNE 1st., 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

...

THE TOILERS' INFERNO

Under the Southern Cross.

The iron heel of capitalist oppression treads alike on the toilers in old countries and new. The workers' Mecca, we are told, is New Zealand We hear of "benevolent Governments" and wise labour laws" in the late Dick Seddon's El Dorado, but the facts filter through sooner or later to show how similar is the lot of the wage worker there to that of his fellow in misery here. Not content with binding the toilers with crafty arbitration laws, they recently inaugurated Compulsory Military Service. Then they talk

about a free country!
We learn from the "Maoriland Worker" that a bitter battle is being waged against all workers who seek to evade service, and numbers of our fellow workers have been "jailed" for opposing the "Property Owners' Charter." In "Labour" governed Australia the same fight is being waged, and the toilers bitterly resent being driven miles after the day's work is done, in order to drill for a couple of hours that they may become efficient agents in subduing their strik-

The Land of the Stars and Stripes.

Many weeks back there began, in Lawrance, Massachusetts, U.S.A., a strike of cotton operatives. The strikers were seeking a little more than mere bread and substitute. They were met with all the bloodthirsty venom that King Capital invariably shows when you tap his pocket.

Failing to quell the strikers directly, the employers brought out company after company of militia, until now about eight companies are out.

The strikers are largely lads, girls, and women-suffering all the miseries of the millworkers under millionairedom. This last week or two the soldiers have been ordered to "go for the strikers." They did. With fixed bayonets they made attacks upon the bent backs and twisted limbs of the worn wage-workers of capitalism.

An American newspaper describes how a lad of eighteen tried to escape from the bloody bri-gade. He started to run. The soldiers overtook him. A bayonet was driven through his lung -they manage these little matters very much the same in America as in England. They took him to the hospital -after he died. That's the toiler's share in the land of the stars and stripes.

The "Golden West." Haven't you heard of our Empire beyond the

seas? Haven't you listened to the Dominion Emigration Agent telling of the prospects for hardy toilers in Canada? They are here now telling the tale. In to-day's papers they are asking for labourers and domestic servants. But the Canadian papers are busy telling the woes of those already there.

The Vancouver toilers are suffering unemployment to an extent previously unknown. They have been trying to hold demonstrations. The 'Vancouver World' reports the arrest of dozens of trade unionists for daring to demonstrate. The judge informed them the penalty was four years imprisonment!

Our fellow workers here sometimes wonder when we tell them that unemployment dogs the toilers' footsteps the world over. But there is plenty of proof for those who seek it.

Unemployment is caused by the private own ership of the means of life, and no reform can end it. Vancouver is the pet illustration of the "Land Taxer." The Single Tax idea of the "prophet of San Frisco" has been more widely applied there than anywhere else. But in spite of it, unemployment pursues the worker.

Mr. Joseph Hyder, offthe Land Nationalisation Society, wrote to the "Manchester Guardian" on October 9th last, pointing to the prosperity of Vancouver. Yet even he admitted that "Land Taxation has not proved so deadly in practice as it sounds in theory. Nor has land speculation of the extremest kind been prevented."

Special attention is drawn to our Annual Social which will be held at Fairfax Hall, Portland Gardens, N. on Good Friday evening at 7.30. We are getting quite a reputation for this event, and we trust that all our friends who can possible do so will make a point of attending.

A REVOLUTIONARY RHYME.

THAT sheeplike leader worship, looting shops, and burning trains -

Such primitive and futile monkey tricks Denote that Labour lacks the proper function of

You can't slay old King Capital with bricks! The Government is still the subtle fraud of long

The Liberal, the Tory, and the "Lab.," Are merely a committee in the profit-mongers'

Experts in all the arts of swank and grab.

In vain the fields of Belfast, Featherstone, and

Peterloo The lessons wrought in history's bloody page! Fools still abound to seek, where foul oppre

ever grew. For justice in a gold-corrupted age.

servitude less painful is the goal they have in view, In which false hope and misconception blend.

"Without a master class," they say, "what would the wage-slave do? Deprived of this, on what would be depend?"

The Sampson of the ages, shorn of strength, bereft of mind

Fine sport provides for tricksters, who engage An up-to date Delilah called Reform to lure and

While Mammon mocks his impotent, blind rage. Unlike the fabled giant seeking vengeance on

his foes, He acts as one who feels but never thinks. And groping blindly fails to find the source of

all his woes: Reform is slavedom's chain with gilded links.

Behold the foeman: Capital-one conscious,

solid mass-His iron law, his bludgeon, and his steel, All framed to aid the despot to exploit a subject

And drive the striking wage-slave back to heel. Parson, priest, and "Labour" man—that loath-

some party hack, The decoy in each canting P.S.A., Where peace is preached to lure our class

awakened from the track -The peace of slaves where tyrant Want holds

To keep the Moloch Capital secure upon his

throne, Stern poverty and want are brought to bear; and so the sons of toil compose the guard around the drone.

Dragooned by cultured insolence and fear. Intelligence shall one day sight the gun and

When class-embittered hatred fans the flame Now dormant, where devotion based on ignor-

ance has made The tools that bear the uniform of shame

Strike the blow for freedom on the battlefield of class

Where the shameless ballot-monger plies his trade: Shun the trashy gems that fade like dew-drops

on the grass The baubles of the Labour renegade.

Freedom is not found within subjection's chang-Poltroons alone can halt between the two.

Tis Revolution breaks the fatal circle of reform, From whence all foul oppression springs anew.

The weapons of our fathers served to keep the foe at bay:
Their use to-day could only bring defeat.

So with the strike, now totally unfitted for the fray, And like old matchlock guns, long obsolete.

Througout the world thy comrades mass beneath the flag of red-

The beacon light of Labour's destiny. In Socialism seek the only force your masters

dread, Within the fighting S.P. of G.B.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.

		(LONDON L	, is the c t .,		
SUNDAYS.		17th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald	H. Cooper	E. Fairbrother
	7.30	D. Campbell	A. Hoskyns	R. Fox	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park"	3.30	1. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins	A.W.Pearson	F. Dawkins
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11 30	A. Jacobs	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	S. Blake
Ilford (station)	7.30	A. Bays	R. Fox	C. Parker	F. J. Rourke
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	C. Parker	F. Dawkins	S. Blake	R. J. Rourke
,	7.30	F. J. Rourke	A.W. Pearson	A. Kohn	R. Fox
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn
Parliament HIII	11.30	A. Hoskyns	T. W. Allen	F J. Rourke	A. Hoskyns
Peckham Triangle	7.30	R. Fox	H. Cooper	D. Campbell	A. Anderson
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	A. Barker	R Fox	A. Kohn	A.W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	11.30	R. Fox	S. Blake	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald
2 Ooting Diodaway	7.30	H. Joy	D. Campbell	T. W. Allen	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs	A. W. Pearson	F. Dawkins
	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A Kohn
Walham Green Church	7.30	J. E. Roe	A. Barker	E. Fairbrother	D. Campbell
Walthamstow, Church Hill	7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Kohn	A. Bays	C. Parker
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	H. Cooper	J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker	A. Hoskyns
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill		S. Blake	F. J Rouske	A. Jacobs	R. Foz
" "	7.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Bays	A. W. Pearson	F. Vickers
MONDAYS.—Islington, H	lighbury	Cnr. 8.30. Walh	am Green Church	, 8 p.m.	
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TUBSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30. WBDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church. 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8. THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsheld, 8. Copenhagen St., Caledonian Rd., N. FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham. St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavenent of the working-class, by whose labour done wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and

their democratic control by the whole people. That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without listinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of

the working-class itself. That as the machinery of government, includng the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,

aristocratic and plutocratic. . That as all political parties are but the exression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class. the party seeking working-class emancipation

must be hostile to every other party. · THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, thereore, enters the field of political action deter ained to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the vorking-class of this country to muster under ts banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives hem of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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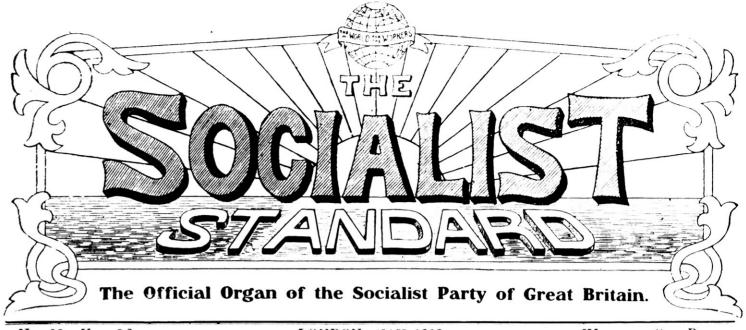
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London School of Economics & Political Science 2007 Socialist Standard 1912



No. 93. Vol. 8.]

LONDON. MAY 1912.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY

THE CLASS STRUGGLE ON BOARD THE "TITANIC."

ONCE again humanity has been staggered by an appalling catastrophe, in which 'undreds of aman lives have been thrown away, and hundreds of homes plunged into grief and despair. Once again the wild cry of horror has vibrated through the world, and the multitude have been not only shocked, but astounded, as if

THE UNEXPECTED

had happened. Once again the newspapers have been slobbering sentimental platitudes and unctuous hypocrisy as though this were not the best thing that has happened for them for many a long day. Once again the machinery of bogus inquiries and sanctimonious "charity" has been set in motion in order to hide awkward and incriminating facts. And finally, once again have the flouted working class, on whom the brunt of this stupendous sacrifice to Mammon has fallen, have begun to forget all about it.

Well, there is nothing at all unusual in that. The workers have proverbially short memories. They have forgotten Featherstone; they have forgotten Whitehaven, they have forgotten Bolton, and in a few short days they will have forgotten the "Titanic."

MURDER OF WORKERS

is so common: the workers are so used to it, that they cannot even recognise it for what it is. When the murderous rifles of the soldiery shoot unarmed workers down, it is only the operation of the Law, and there's an end on't. When mine-owners neglect to keep their mines ventilated, and blow hundreds of miners into eternity, or brick them up in the pit to be burnt alive, it's a lamentable occurrence but quite an accident, and again there's an end on't. And now that the vast "unsinkable," the floating city, has carried its full living cargo to the bottom of the Atlantic, the workers arouse themselves in horror of it for a day or two, note with approval that the Royal Family have donated about one day's income to the relief fund, and then slip quietly back into their sleeping sickness.

And, of course, they are to be helped to do

this by a

SHAM ENOURY

which will start out with the set purpose of fixing the blame on the iceberg, or at most on the dead officers who were supposed to have control of the ship. But this enquiry is a mere blind, a cunning attempt to cloak the real position and to screen from blame the real culprit.

fierce determination to get to the bottom of the matter, and for all the awkward evidence it has elicited, was only embarked on for the purpose of skating on the surface. If they could fix the blame on the White Star people, then so much | It must not be forgotten, however, that capitalthe better for the American shipping interests. | ist companies invariably choose for responsible But beyond this they did not go; beyond this positions those men who do

they never intended to go; beyond this they dared not go. All their virtuous indignation is of a piece with the "patriotism" of their grandfathers, who poisoned Washington's soldiers with villainous provisions with an unscrupulousssen even modern Chicago fails to beat.

To those who understand modern conditions no enquiry is necessary in order to apportion the blame. The starting point of this enquiry will, of course, be the hour immediately preceeding the collision. They will go on the worn-out assumption that the captain had the command of the ship. No one will ask

WHY WAS THE "TITANIC" BUILT. No one will dream of making the designing of

ship the starting-point of the enquiry. No one will dare to suggest that the captain and his officers had not the command of the vessel.

Yet this way lies the truth. In the very designing of the "Titanic" is the first word of the tragic story, in keeping with which is every jot and tittle of evidence to the end. In the luxuirous furnishings-the swimming baths, the flower gardens, the racquets courts-read the secret of the catastrophe. The ship was built to carry rich passengers across the herring-pend.

Almost the first comment that was made by the newspapers when the fatal news came to hand was that among the first class passengers aboard the vessel were millionaires who were collectively worth £30,000,000. This in itself s significant.

The fares of those six hundred first and second class passengers must have totalled an enormous sum, compared with which the passage money of the steerage was a negligable quantity. The Titanic," then, was essentially built

FOR RICH PASSENGERS.

upon whom the White Star Company depended enable their vessel to "earn" a dividend.

The course is clear from this. The ship was on her maiden voyage; it was necessary to convince the wealthy, whose time is so extremely valuable, that she was a fast boat. So, as it is admitted, there was a general order to "smash all records"- which was duly done.7"

This explains why the look-out men had glasses until they reached Queenstown, but not afterwards- record smashing on the Western voyage commences at Queenstown. When records are to be smashed is very inconvenient to have the look-out seeing too much-especially when the ship is an "unsinkable" and well-in-The enquiry in America, for all its seeming sured. It also explains why the vessel was on a wrong course notice was taken of the look-out's warning.

Much will be made of these latter facts, no doubt, and the dead officers will be blamed.

WHAT THEY ARE PAID TO DO.

It is all moonshine to talk of the captain being in command. They command who hold his livelihood in their hands. If he will not take risks and get the speed they want, then he must give place to one who will.

So at the bottom it is the greed for profit and the insatiable desire for speed on the part of the rich that is responsible for the disaster, whatever conclusion the Committee of Enquiry may come to. Of course, they will not give any such verdict as that, for that would be to indict

the capitalist system.

The actual details of the wreck afford a further opportunity of pressing home a lesson. The evidence of the survivers and the evidence of the official figures of the saved, show that even on the decks of the sinking liner, and to the very end.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE WAS ON.

Those who had clamoured for speed were the first to monopolise the boats, and the way was kept open for them by the officers' revolvers. Even the capitalist newspapers are compelled to admit the significance of the figures. Of the first class men 34 per cent, were saved: of the steerage men only 12 per cent. Figures like those are eloquent enough without the evidence of the officer who admitted that he kept steerage passengers from a half-filled boat with shots from his revolver. Much has been made of the fact that the cry

Women and children first" was raised, and it is not necessary to cast aspersions on the courage of any man who survives. The salient fact is that it was not a question of courage but of class. "Women and children" meant women and children of the wealthy class. Of first class women and children practically all were saved, some even with their pet dogs. Of the steerage women and children more than half

does not, save in very rare instances, extend itself to the class beneath them. We are not of those who expect any great results from this ocean tragedy. Working-class lives are very cheap, and the age that abolishes

perished. The "chivalry" of the ruling class

THE PLIMSOL LINE

at the demand of those greedy for profit is hardly likely to insist upon the provision of proper means of life-saving or the careful navigation of passenger vessels. As in the mines, so on the ocean. Murder by wholesale may be committed without doing violence to "law and order," so long as it is committed by the capitalist class in the "legitimate" scramble for profits. The law only moves against the Crippens and the Seddons, but the murders quite commonly committed by the capitalist class are not one whit less foul, for all nobody is hanged A. E. JACOMB. for them.

BRAIN WORKERS AND—BRAINS.

It is generally assumed by most people that the different professions are quite distinct from the rest of the working class, that they occupy a favourable position, both with regard to their pecuniary returns and their freedom from that sense of insecurity which, through unemployment, haunts the lives of the workers.

That this assumption is wide of the truth is constantly being demonstrated, both by statistics published from time to time, and by private records of the personal experience of members

That competition in all professions is keen and grows in intensity is notorious. Every profession has its unemployed, a struggling mass of "brain workers" and experts striving to emulate those who have already secured the plums of the professional world. The "stars" of the music halls attract large numbers of amateurs and young people, who speedily find out that high salaries are only paid to the "stars. Their entry into the profession only increased the competition and tends to still further reduce the remuneration of those who possess only average talent.

What is true of the music hall world is true of all the professions, and it is safe to assert that there is at present no section of the workers without a percentage of unemployed. As far back as 1909—and the tendency has certainly not decreased since then—a leading daily newspaper said: "A return of the average income of the professional artist of to day would furnish a tragic story of wasted and unrewarded labour.' Dr. Warriner, at the Trinity College of Music, about the same time, gave some startling figures as to the professional musicians competing for a living in London and added: "The profession is over-crowded; the musical world is hopelessly congested and the struggle for existence is bitter and disappointing.'

The recent discussions on the Insurance Bill have revealed the unenviable position of many doctors, especially in working-class districts The January number of "The Clerk" says in a leading article: "For the want of organisation our profession has fallen as low as any skilled While admitting their worsened condition they ignore the factors that have produced it-all of which are common knowledge. The introduction of simplified methods of bookkeeping, automatic appliances, typewriters, and the employment of female and juvenile substitutes wherever possible. And above all, the wholesale manufacture of clerks by "evening commercial classes.

One of the easiest lessons learned by the capitalist has been how to encourage an oversupply of the different kinds of labour-power that were high-priced—and for what purpose is made clear by an elementary understanding of the nature of capitalism and a record of the events that immediately follow such over

A typical instance is that of the teachers. Some ten or twelve years ago they were in demand. An agitation was commenced, chiefly by Progressives, for giving greater facilities to the workers' children to qualify for the profession. The acting teachers examination was instituted and the barriers to the teaching profession went down like the walls of Jericho-with the teachers underneath.

Henceforth the latter occupy the same position as the rest of the working class. The "law" of supply and demand operates against them because their numbers are in excess of the demand. A number of educational authorities soon availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to reduce the salaries of newly appointed teachers. An ever-increasing number were unable to obtain appointments, and were forced to accept jobs as warehousemen, clerks, shop-assistants, waitresses, etc.
In October 1910 their unemployed numbered

4.000, and the teachers thought that—something

Naturally we should expect them to deal with the situation with rare sagacity and intelligence. A record of their actions, however, proves that they wear capitalist blinkers quite as unconsciously as mechanics and labourers. Their protests and resolutions to the authorities have been slavish copies of the trade union protests

of twenty years ago.
At the Annual Conference of the N.U.T. held at Plymouth in 1910, a resolution was passed in favour of abolishing the acting teachers examination and regulating the number of entrants to training colleges. Only those should be allowed to enter the profession who were collegetrained certificated teachers. Parallel action to that taken by trade unionists in trying to enforce apprenticeship laws.

The passing of resolutions incorporating demands is in itself an energy-wasting operation, and is perfectly useless unless action is taken, or at least threatened.

At the protest meeting in October at Holborn Town Hall, Sir George Kekewitch told the assembled teachers that the Board of Education thought it necessary to have a reserve of teachers to meet future requirements, and, surely, this overcrowding would lead to a dearth of teachers, which would lead to an increase of their pittances. In other words-wait while the economic wheel turns round.

Sir John Gorst at the same meeting said they must aim at smaller classes in order that their unemployed might be absorbed-obviously a weeless procedure, even if they were successful while the manufacture of teachers still proceeds at the new pace that had been set—a pace that will not be slackened, as Mr. Pease intimated in the House of Commons recently.

In 1912 we find the teachers still tinkering with the effects, protesting against the compulsory promotion of children through the various classes in order to economise space—a new method discovered by the authorities for maintaining their reserve army of teachers. The latter protest, as usual, but claim that they are disinterested in their motives. Their chief concern, they state, is for the welfare of the children, whose education is being scamped. This, however, is a subterfuge we can easily see through when we know how their material interests are affected by these labour saving

Ultimately, of course, the teachers, together with all professionals, will have to admit their identity with the rest of the wage-workers. Every year makes them more helplessly subject to capital, increases their insecurity and worsen their general conditions. The evils from which they suffer—incessant toil, insecurity, and low wages tending still lower-must finally drive them to admit the truth of our principles, and to see in our methods the only way to relief. They must force them to attempt with us the removal of the effects by the overthrow and abolition of the system and the establishment of Socialism. The sooner they take up this attitude the sooner shall we be convinced of their possession of intelligence and sagacity and-brains that can think.

WATFORD ACTIVITIES.

Watford is known to persons interested in politics as the home of political frauds

We have just had another local election, and Watford has maintained its aforementioned reputation.

Every year as these elections come round, a new organisation (sic) is brought into being. This time it is the B.S.P., whose methods-on paper-are to educate the people in principles Socialism, and to establish a militant Socialist Party in Parliament and on local bodies, independent of all parties which support

The first thing done by this party was to allow its secretary and another member to be run by an organisation that did not ask what political opinions any of the candidates held—the author of that statement being the secretary of the Trades and Labour Council, who is himself

This organisation, consisting of Liberals, Tories, Labourites, and men of all other shades conference with the local B.S.P., to draw up the Programme that was to equeste the program was form Watford in the principles of Socialism and form

(Continued on page 68.)

TO RECONSTRUCT THE LAND SYSTEM.

"OUR NATIONAL FOOD SUPPLY." By James Lumsden, London: Fisher Unwin is not

This is the wail of a Land Nationaliser. As such it would hardly be expected to be based upon any very solid foundation of economic science. Indeed, the author hints as much, albeit somewhat cautiously, in his "Prefatory Note," where he says that he has endeavoured to state the causes of the persistent rise in the price of food, and to show that these causes are not of a temporary nature, "in the compass of a volume not too big to repel those whose taste does not incline to

Such mental shirkers are not likely to become wearied of economics by a perusal of the present volume, and since they are incapable of doing their own thinking, and therefore incapable of ever becoming efficient forces for working-class emancipation, why, it matters little what effect the book has on them.

But the gentle reader of the Socialist Standard is not of that type, and the present review is not written for "those whose taste does not incline to economics."

Mr. Lumeden's trouble, professedly, at all events, is that "our growing dependence upon foreign countries for food is an evil of the greatest magnitude, fraught with danger even in time of peace." He tells us (p. 31) that "it tends to produce, among many other results-

'Persistent increase in the price of food. "Persistent deterioration in the quality of

Diminishing variety in the kinds of food. 'Increasing dependence for the means of living upon export manufacturing industries. "Lowering of the wages paid to labour."
Lowering of the profits upon manufac-

turing.'

The author, having giving this catalogue of evil tendencies arising out of "our growing dependence upon foreign countries for food," seems to have an inkling that what is so glibly uttered for "those whose taste does not incline to economics," may be challenged by other people. And he prophesies that these will appeal to history, and "to the fact that at the present hour the common people of many countries . are clamouring for the free admission of foreign food in order to bring down the cost of living. It may be so, but it should have struck our author that the most natural thing for a critic to do is to turn to Mr. Lumsden's own pages, to

see how far they support his theories. Against his first statement, regarding the rise in the price of food, may be quoted from p. 10 the assertion that "food prices are at present rising all over the world. . . . The staples of life are advancing more rapidly in Germany, which for fifty years has pursued a State policy of fostering home agriculture, than in England which during the same period has calmly allowed its domestic agriculture to decline. The cost of food has advanced as much in countries which export vast quantites of grain and meat as in countries which have become, like England. mainly dependent upon imported supplies.

So as far as our author's first point goes, it is a case of felo de se.

As regards deterioration in quality and diminution in variety of food, Mr. Lumsden makes a very weak attempt to establish the first, and no attempt at all to support the second of these assertions. On the other hand, he points out on p. 12 that "the Russian peasant may be starying while the fine wheat produced by his labour goes into the oven of the London baker. . . . The Normandy peasant denies milk to his own

offspring in order to convert all his cream into butter for the English market. The Canadian farmer eats canned beef from Chicago, while he ships hundreds of prairie cattle across the Atlantic to Liverpool.

In the face of this the argument that "if the logical outcome of entire dependence upon foreign countries for food were pressed to its extreme development, the dependent country would only get the refuse which other count of political faith except Socialists, had a joint had no use for," needs a deal of elaboration ere it will convince even "those whose taste does not incline to economics."

Of the other assertions in the catalogue our author says scarce a word. He leaves them to those

who have paid their shilling, with the cheery nonchalance that leads him to remark, concerning another point: "I do not intend to combat the popular delusions in flat contradiction to

May, 1912.

But as for the "lowering of profits upon manufacturing," Mr. Lumsden writes on p. 50: "During the past five years . . . food has risen in price 10 per cent., wages have remained practically stationary." If, then, the workers have had to bear the cost of the increased cost of food which the writer of the above ascribes to "our growing dependence upon foreign countries," surely it is presuming too much upon our simplicity to tell us that the "profits upon manufacturing" suffer.

As might be expected of one who holds economics in such fine contempt, Mr. Lumsden contradicts himself in very lively fashion. For instance, on p. 32 he says: "The vice of Protection is that it encourages farmers to look for bigger profits by getting bigger prices. This has been shown in the most convincing way in Prussia. Free Trade, as was abundantly demonstrated in England and Scotland, teaches farmers to seek larger profits from increased yield "-which assertion is flatly contradicted in more than one place where the author laments the comparative backwardness of British agriculture, particularly on p. 94, where we are told "one has only to visit France and Germany to see what crops could be raised from enormous quantities of land now wholly abandoned in this country," and the already quoted comparison (p. 10) of the state of agriculture in Protectionst Germany and Free Trade England, "which . has calmly allowed its domestic agriculture to decline

When our author does condescend to dabble in economics he gets in an awful tangle. Take the following example from page 45:-

'Suppose, for illustration, any article of food produced in Austria. . . This unit of produce can be sold in England for 15s., and it can also be sold in Austria, the country of its origin, for 15s. The English importer must sell it in England for 15s. He cannot get more; his public cannot afford to pay more. Clearly that article will not come to England. The article sold in England must be one for which the cost of transport is included in the price of 15s. If the cost of transport is 5s., then the English merchant can only sell in England for 15s. an article which can be bought in Austria for 10s. So that the English consumer pays 15s. for a middling or in-ferior sort for which the people in the land of production only pay 10s."

Any tyro could have told Mr. Lumsden that merchants do not usually buy at retail prices in one land in order to sell retail in another, and that the difference between the wholesale price of his Austrian unit in Austria, and its retail price in England, might, after all, permit the article to "come to England."

But quite apart from this, and because the idea expressed in the above quotation is one of Mr. Lumsden's pet economic fallacies, the basic principle of the matter may be pointed out.

The idea that imports are regulated by what consumers can "afford to pay" is ridiculous. Whatever influence the power to purchase may have on demand and supply, it is not that which determines whether the goods shall be imported or produced at home. On the contrary, however much the citizens of a country can "afford to pay," goods will not be imported if the labour involved in their production at the place where they become available to the consumer, exceeds that required to produce identical commodities of native origin in the same place.

This is the broad law, subject to slight interference, as from fluctuations of price and unequal cost of labour power. Hence to say that we have "to accept the inferior descriptions of any article of food the moment the inhabitants in the country of its production can pay as good prices as the people of England can pay" is sheer nonsense. We stop receiving any particular grade or quality of commodities from abroad when the same grade and quality can be placed on the same market by home producers at a smaller cost in labour time.

Food cannot become cheaper," says Mr. Lumdsen (p. 46) "when it has to be brought from further and further away." Yet he said on page 32 that Protection encourages farmers to seek higher prices. This can only be because it shuts out the food which, despite the fact that it has come from the furthermost ends of the earth, is cheaper. As a matter of fact, the grain which came to us from America only ousted British wheat because it was cheaper. It was cheaper because it was produced with such a small expenditure of labour power. The vast plains, from which crops were snatched almost without effort, are now becoming exhausted They are demanding that future crops shall be won from them with toil. Hence prices rise. and that particular wheat cannot so well afford to travel.

Of course. Mr. Lumsden shares the view common to Land Nationalisers, that landlordism, a least as far as British agriculture is concerned is the enemy. But he is entirely wrong when he ascribes the backwardness of British agriculture to the system of land tenure.

The degree of development of British agriculture is (within certain limits) determined by the conditions prevailing in other sources of supply. While great stretches of fertile land exist where crops can be raised with so little expenditure of abour-power that, even with the added burder of freightage, it is more economically presented to the English consumer than home grown stuff of equal quality, British agriculture will languish in common with other countries similarly situated. But as these fertile tracts become exhausted of their virgin fruitfulness, as it becomes necessary to resort to deep cultivation, manuring, and other expedients which the farmer in the old countries is compelled to use, then we may expect agriculture to advance in England, what ever the system of land tenure. It is, even from the point of view of encouraging British agriculture, idle to clamour for Land Nationalisation, for the cost of production is not to be decreased by that means. The system of land tenure may decide who shall exploit the land, but to what degree is a matter beyond its province. Under the present system, whenever the landowners as a class think they can make more profit out of the soil than they can rent, they will very quickly replace their tenants with bailiffs, and push British agriculture to a higher point of evelopment than peasant proprietors, with their imited means, are likely to do. A. E. J.

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE "LABOUR DAILY."

THE question of a Labour daily newspaper has been so much to the front at odd times within the past few years that we cannot be surprised that one has appeared. It is an independent iournal so far as organisations are concerned, although it has a backing among many prominent trade-unionists and quasi-Socialists. Its first editorial article was quite promising. It said: "However much we may deplore the antagonism of class interests, we cannot escape its consequences. The conflict is going on all the time," but subsequent announcements, sad to say, have more than nullified this. To take its leading articles as representing its own opinions, we have had the most contradictory posi-

tions advocated in successive issues. In No. 1 we were told that "Bound to no particular section of the movement, the 'Daily Herald' is the mouth piece of all phases of industrial, political and social activity. While giving general support to the policy and programme of the Labour Party in the House of ommons, we do not claim identity with them.

In No. 3 we were told of the futility of political action of any kind, and the theory of Anarchist "direct action" was advocated, as will be clear from the following extracts:

"And they all know, as we know, that the centre of politics has shifted; they all know, as we know, that the question whether or no a capitalist parliament sits in Dublin is of no account beside the question whether or no the They know the game is up. There is no need mild jubilation. The real problems of the day, the fate of an industrial system, the task of re-

modelling it before it falls in ruins about our heads, are pushing the old peddling political problems of the day off the stage. fight for freedom is to take place in the workshop and the street, and not on the floor of the House of Commons. Parliament sits in its cave, like the giant of Bunyan's fable, sparling through its toothless gums. What the democracy is considering is how the worker can organise himself for co-operative production without the aid of Parliament-even with the forces of the governing clique arrayed against

In No. 4, on the occasion of the East Nottingham bye-election, its readers were advised to keep the Tory out by voting Liberal. The exact words had better be reproduced. Here they are

"Mr. Dobson has done nothing, within our recollection, to entitle him to this amount of consideration at our hands. But there it is. The Labour electors have to choose between two evils, and our advice to them is-choose the lesser by voting for Mr. Dobson.

In No. 5 we get back to the Anarchist position, and the advocacy of the general strike. "Combination can abolish the whole miserable picture, and substitute a united army which would, without doubt, sweep everything before "A sectional strike might possibly about a few minor reforms, but it would more likely to end in disaster. It could not for a moment be expected to solve the really vital problems with which we are confronted. magine for one moment the effect of complete consolidation '

In No. 8, on the occasion of the bye-election in the Forest of Dean, the Liberal is taboo, and we are invited to turn him out. On the former occasion the reason for voting Liberal was to keep the Tory out, therefore it obviously follows that in order to turn the Liberal out of the Forest of Dean it is necessary to vote Tory. "At present the Forest of Dean is unrepresentedrather it is represented by an echo of Mr. Asquith and the party caucus. We invite the Dean miners to turn the echo out."

It can be seen from the above that within the compass of eight days the new Labour daily has put up a record for boxing the political compass. The quotations given show how in so many words it has flitted from supporting the Labour Party to non-political economic "direct action." From that to supporting the Liberal candidate, while its next advice it to support the Tory candidate. Inconsistency has never gone further.

The fact is the "Daily Herald" has no politics and no policy. It wants to make the paper a financial success; that is its first and only consideration. Its educative effect upon the working class is altogether a secondary consideration. The opinions of the workers are indefinite- ergo, the opinions of a paper to be acceptable to all must be similarly indefinite. The working-class position politically has not so far been stated, although on occasions it has been glimpsed. The political game is up, we are told, and the fight must be in the street. The political movement of the workers organised on the basis of their class position has never been tried, and what is the use of the completest industrial amalgamation in the street when the trained armed forces of society are controlled by the enemy? Are we to assume that because our opponents use the power of society, organised and controlled through the Parliamentary machine, for their class purposes in that struggle recognised in the "Daily Herald's" first leader, the same power is to be left in their hands without our making an effort to capture it? Because Labour hacks sell out is that to say working-class representation is impossible Because the political machinery has been corrupted by its long abuse by capitalism, is it to follow we can afford to ignore it in a struggle in which it must occupy the central position?

Let the "Daily Herald" expound the truth, and urge the organisation of the working-class politically for the capture of the machinery of government in order to overthrow the capitalist Irish railwaymen are coming out on strike. system; let it emphasise the necessity for an organisation for that purpose, and the insufficito insist on an obvious fact, but we may be ency of all the parties that have been tried. If forgiven for expressing a certain amount of | it follows that line it will arrive at the position

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for nsection therein should be addressed, -The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

UNI	TED K	INGD	OM.	
Twelve Months				1s. 6d.
Six "			•••	9d.
	AME	RICA.		
welve Months				50 cents.
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The Socialist Standand,



MAY 1, 1912.

A MAY-DAY MESSAGE.

"LABOUR Day" is here again. Shall we have a sermon on it? Shall we make a sort of All Fools Day of it, and wax a little bit sentimental? -we the cold unemotional scientific exponents of materialism. Shall we look upon life and the world for a moment with the soft eye and the blurred vision, and appraise things according to the feelings, with Reason locked up the while in solitary confinement in the coldest, innermost cell of our frigid, philosophical editorial cranium? Shall we run roit with fancy for a spell? We will

For after all, the romance, and poetry, and sentiment of life are very real factors, and they may weigh and judge and value things that science never can. As, when coming suddenly out upon some high cliff overlooking the sea, and being overwhelmed by the ineffable sense of fiery space in the blazing elements above and below, one may get a deeper, truer impression of the power of the sun than all the language

of science can convey. So when science has tabulated life for us, and shown us in plain figures just how much the worker is being robbed of, there is more left unsaid than is spoken, for "man does not live by bread alone.'

True, without bread man perishes quickly, but even with bread in sufficiency, if it is eaten in a stable, with blinkers on our eyes to prevent us feasting them upon anything but our mess-tin, what lot or portion have we to take joy in? This idea was covertly and by implication expressed by a London morning newspaper, which a few days ago remarked regarding two rich Americans who were drowned in the recent

catastrophe: "They had much to live for. And as in saving that our contemporary implied that others had and have not much to live for. we may concern ourselves with that this May Day morning.

We are told that self preservation is the first law of nature, but those who tell us this affect greater surprise when a person who has "much to live for" neglects to act in accordance with this law, than when one who has little inducement to live is careless of self preservation.

So it is the joy of life that makes self-preser vation worth while. It is a sound, common sense deduction, not altogether new--cld enough

indeed to be pretty generally forgotten.

The bread and butter" question is paramount, as all materialists agree, but not for its own sake. If we have distinctly advanced in anything beyond the stage of our poorer brethren, the lower animals, it is in the development of other needs than those of the stomach. if, as the patent medicine vendor says, all our ills arise from the stomach, and if, as the materialist more truly assures us, all our pleasures are ultimately based on our digestive apparatus, still man needs, even more urgently, comfort in other regions than that of the waistband.

Which is to say that, important as it is to

gobble and be able to gobble, and to have place and peace wherein to gobble, that has long since ceased to be an end in itself, and has become, at least in the case of those whose minds have developed up to the Socialist Standard, a means to an end, a means to the supreme happiness, a

means to the joy of living.

And what is this joy in life? Where is this supreme happiness to be found? We should be entering upon very contentious ground if we were to attempt to say that it is the ecstasy to be found in the acme of East End delight, the "Cambridge," or in the highest aspiration of West End enjoyment, a monkey dinner, or in the raptures of the simple life, or in the low dieting, for morality's sake, of the Catholic priest. Each, of course, as he lists. But it is safe to say that the joy of living, or the joy in living, to put it in a better way, is inseparably bound up with the leisure to follow one's desires.

That was the difference between the two rich Americans who "had so much to live for," and the stokers, who had so little to hold them to life. The former were men of leisure and opportunity—the latter were slaves.

If it is this leisure and opportunity which constitutes the joy in living, it is a fair May Day question to ask the reader, what share in the joy of living, what portion of life, falls to the working class.

Quite apart from the question of the material things of life, the workers are in an awful predicament. What is the weary round for the vast majority of us? Up in the morning and off at an hour when it would be cruelty to disturb our children for a farewell smile; slavery all the livelong day - perhaps in the treacherous mine, perhaps before the roasting furnaces, perhaps in the torrid atmosphere of the cabinet-makers' workshop, where an open window, a breath of fresh slum air, will chill the glue seething on the hot plates. Dinner snatched in the unsavoury odours of the cook shop-where all sorts of viands are cooking and smelling together,—or fried in the roadway on a shovel, and eaten al fresco, seated on an upturned pail. Then when we are pumped out, back home again. And for To live? To enjoy the fruits of our labour? Oh, no! To recuperate! To steal a look at our sleeping children and then creep wearily to bed to get strength to toil through the morrow.

What do we know of home life? What do we know of the beauty of the world about us? The very significance of May Day is lost to us, for we have no interest in the awakening of Nature after her winter sleep. We are beasts of burden. Shame on us !-we carry the voke with the mild spirit of beasts of burden, and we deserve our

Let us be men. Let us ask ourselves why we should be born into the world and be the beasts of burden of an idle class. Let us ask ourselves if there can be no other result flowing from the centuries of progress than this-that only those who do no useful work and produce none of the good things of life should have "much to live for," while we who produce all desirable things waste our lives in unceasing toil and misery.

It has become a trite saving that we can only die once. Let us remember that we can also only live once, and determine, this May Day, that we will fight for life as we have to fight for our living. For O, we are so near our emancipation if only we would believe it and want it and work for it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)

"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York)

British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver) The Star of the East." (Melbourne).

Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand). "Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"Freedom" (London)

A Central Economic Class is being held on Friday evenings at 8.30 at the Head Office, 10,

PARTY NOTES.

THE Eighth Annual Conference of the Party held on April 5th and 6th proved very success ful, being attended by a record number of delegates, whose seriousness and enthusiasm augers well for the future of the S.P.G.B.

The growth of, and the demand for, our organisation, renders it imperative that more propagandists should be put into the field, and as many as possible who can devote their whole energies to the Cause. This matter was fully considered by the Conference, and more will be

The Social held on the Friday evening was also very successful, and some £10 should be cleared after meeting expenses.

The vigorous propaganda work put in in Hyde Park by our comrades Vickers, Kohn and Le Carte, has borne 'frare and refreshing fruit' in the form of the Marylebone Branch (for particulars see Branch Directory on last page of this issue). Propaganda meetings will now be held at Nutford Place, Edgware Road on Sunday mornings, and in Hyde Park on Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings.

Southend Branch have now rendered Southend quite a desirable place, and speakers who wish to combine the pleasures of "the world, the flesh, and the devil" with the pleasures of propaganda, should communicate with the Organiser, mentioning this place.

A member of the Tottenham Branch on 23rd March extended a challenge to the Anti-Socialist Union speaker, Mr. F. Ludgate, to debate. This individual, on behalf of the A.S.U., accepted the challenge and asked our local man write to his Head Office. This was immediately done, and the following is the reply received from the

March 27th, 1915

I have your letter of the 26th inst., and from enquiries made I find that our speaker, Mr. F. Ludgate, did not accept the challenge to debate with any member of the Socialist Party of Great

I may at once inform you that we decline to meet any representative of your Party in debate owing to the scurrilous articles which appeared in your official organ at the time of the Coro-

Yours truly, (Signed) JAMES WM. UNWIN, Secretary.

F. Fryer, Esqr., 3, Gloucester Road, Tottenham, N.

From the above letter it will be seen that the A.S.U. consists of liars as well as cowards, and fools.

"Watford Activities" - continued.

a militant, independent Socialist Party in the local council chamber. From such a mob the expected happened.

They advocated better roads (I suppose they would term that paving the road to Socialism); they waxed warm over the scavenging question; they clamoured for the speedy supply of dustbins and for all dust to be collected from the backs of houses. They also advocated an adequate water supply on the allotments, but many in Watford are not teetotalers, and did not see

However, I do not think they intended the people to drink it, but to use it for watering their crops, so that the workers could live more cheaply by having cheap vegetables, and incidentally, to enable the employers to pay lower

wages.
Other things were included. The housing question, municipal slaughter houses, and houses to live in were advocated. The difference

between a house to live in and a house to die in as far as my knowledge of municipal dwellings

goes, is one of degree only. These things appearing on the addresses of the Independent Labour Party and Labour candidates which the B.S.P. supported made the capitalist class here tremble -with laughter And they brought forward candidates and ran

May, 1912.

and the following of leaders seems to create a deal of mental disturbance, ranging from gentle indignation to double-distilled essence of Satanic malevolence, within those whose peculiar constitution demands a leader to look up to, and worship, and follow.

them on the same ticket, and beat this mob who

would drag the cause of the workers in the mire.

addresses, never put forward at one of their

meetings. Moreover, one of their speakers said: "I do not know what Socialism has to do

Sicialism was never mentioned in their

injured innocents, and such injured people who are far from being innocents, seem to imagine that our opposition to leaders and followers is prompted by sheer cussedness and spleen, and grounded upon anything but reason

But it may be possible to give, within the limits of a short article, some reasons for our undeniably bitter hostility to all that savours of leadership, which will be sufficiently cogent to modify in some degree the criticism levelled against us, even if they fail to convert immense

Now in the first place, the movement for respect -it is a movement for the emancipation of the only class in society that remains to be emancipated. The significance of this is easily grasped. So long as, in the struggle of classes. not the only subject class; so long, that is, as there was a class below them, the achievement of the particular revolution of the period by no means depended upon the class-consciousness of the majority of those fighting for it. On the other hand, in such circumstances there was always a class to be made the tools of those seeking emancipation, and therefore to be kept in ignorance of the true interests of their class.

In such case, while the success of the revolution depended upon the class-consciousness (or knowledge of their class interests) of the revolutionary section of society, it found either a helpful or a stumbling block, in the class below.

For this reason the revolutionary class had much to gain from leading their dupes into battle on their account, but this did not absolve the former from the necessity of themselves attaining class consciousness, as a class, before any very serious effort could be made to attain social domination.

entirely different. They have no class below them on whom to foist a fraudulent conception of class interests, and from whom to draw support and assistance in the struggle. All their strength must be of themselves and in themselves. All their militant might must be based upon the knowledge of their class position and the logical course dictated by that position.

Therefore at the very outset it is seen that the need for leaders does not exist. Only those who do not know the way require to be led, and this very fact makes it inevitable that those who are led will be entirely in the hands of those who

The working class can only find emancipation through Socialism, which implies the overthrow of the present ruling class and their social sys tem. The only possible human instruments in the prosecution of the struggle for this end are those who understand the working-class position in society, realise that only Socialism can lift them from that position, and who desire that the proletariat shall be so lifted. Broadly speaking, only members of the working class will come in

The class-unconscious mobs, therefore, whom the "leaders" place themselves at the head of, can never be effective factors in the struggle for with thees elections.'

No, advocating Socialism is the work of Socialists, and only those. That is why it was left to us to do.

We did it, and in doing it exposed these freaks and popularity seekers, much to their discomfort. We issued a manifesto showing the workers their position and the way out, and 5,000 copies were printed and distributed and no doubt well read, and it has, I am sure, put a curb on those people who would seek workingclass support for such rubbish as appeared on the election addresses of the so-called Labour BRANCH REPORTER.

WHY WE OPPOSE LABOUR LEADERS.

THE attitude of the Socialist Party toward leaders tion of its collective ignorance.

and judicial consideration.

working-class emancipation is unique in this the class immediately seeking emancipation was

With the modern working-class the thing is

working-class deliverance. It is oiten said that

the leaders are in advance of the led, but in the broader sense this is not true. Leading, after all, must be by consent. So it happens that the leader" can only lead where he is likely to be followed. Hence, so far is the leader from being in advance of the meb, that he is only the reflec-

As it is true that mens' political actions are, broadly speaking, determined by their conception of their economic interests, it follows that would-be leaders must persuade those they would lead that the interests of the latter lie in the direction they desire to lead them. Here is the crux of the whole business. The political activities of the "leaders" will be determined by their economic interests-and what guarantee is there that these interests will coincide with those of the mob they invite to follow them?

It is not to be supposed that the interests of all members of the working class under all conditions and in all circumstances, are identical The shipwrights on the Tyne, for instance, are the competitors of those on the Thames, and the interest of every unemployed worker is, up to a certain point, opposed to those who are taking the wages he aspires to take.

In like manner the economic interest of the 'labour leader," as such, may be opposed to that of those he "leads." The interest of the latter is certainly their emancipation from wageslavery by the only road -- the institution of the Socialist system of society. The interest of the "labour leader," as such, lies in his maintaining his position as a labour "leader.

Granted that these interests have not been shown to be necessarily antagonistic. It is not essential to insist that they are. It is sufficient that they may be, and this no logical person can deny without doing violence to his convictions.

Now what are the facts concerning the economic interests of labour "leaders"? first place their bread and butter, in typical cases, depends upon their activities as labour It is to their interest, therefore, to remove as far as possible the element of doubt and insecurity concerning their livelihood by constituting themselves the bosses of their mobs, instead of being their servants. This they contrive to do by the simple expedient of dividing their followers against one another. Hence they dare not assist their followers to arrive at a true conception of their class interest, for that, if it did not result in their immediate overthrow by the vast bulk of ignorance on which they batten, would replace confusion with unanimity and knowledge that would never submit to be

So in actual fact the interests of leaders and led are diametrically opposed, insomuch that the knowledge which is essential to working-class emancipation must inevitably abolish leaders, and establish working-class effort on the faith and confidence in the intellect and ability of the working-class.

It is part of the necessary work of a Socialist organisation to point out this divergence between the interests of the workers and those who aspire to lead them, and to seize upon every instance and opportunity of illustrating and proving the contention that labour "leaders' are, and necessarily must be, misleaders.

The Socialist and the true Democrat does not place faith in leaders. He knows that the only hope lies in the intelligence and courage and energy of the working class as a class, and all his hope, all his faith, all his trust, rests in the working class. A. E. J. ..

ASKED & ANSWERED.

TRADE UNIONISM AND REFORMS. TO THE EDITOR.

Manchester, 28.3.1912.

Dear Sir, - Your article, "Rates and Taxes," in this month's issue seems to me to completely undermine your position in regard to your attitude to the activities of other Socialists. With untiring persistency you have pointed out and vehemently denounced those who urge the working class to seek to improve their position through reform, arguing that reform is no reform at all that improves the lot of one set of workers at the expense of others; that to benefit some is to make others smart the more. This argument you have worked to death, waxing angry and indignant at the folly and futility of it all. Nay, more; you deliberately charge well known Socialists with most malicious motives, and yet in the article above mentioned, you destroy your contention when you say : claim of the Free Trader and 'Labour' politician that the consumer always pays the tax is seen to be false, for if the owners could simply raise prices they would not spend money in fighting the tax.

Now if this be true, and the same process of reasoning be applied to the miners' strike, it shows that considering the coalowners' determined opposition to the miners' demands, that the men do stand to gain at the expense of the coalowners.

Hitherto you have ridiculed this as nothing but a fatuous delusion, but now on your own showing a rise in wages would be a clear gain to the workers. And as a strike like the present one involves about a million men and their dependents, even a Socialist might spare a little time and energy, without impairing his Socialistic principles and advocacy of Socialism, in helping some of us to get a little more here and now, and being further justified on the well-established belief that we don't live for

The statement that we have "ridiculed as nothing but a fatuous delusion" the fact that the workers gain by enjoying a real rise in wages is sheer invention, as is also the statement that we have argued that "to benefit some is to make others smart the more." We have never made such statements, and we challenge V.W. to point out an issue of this paper as evidence of the truth of his assertion. If he had studied our Party Organ and our Manifesto he would know that we do recognise the necessity for trade union action under capitalism, and that we urge the toilers to improve their unions by basing them upon their interests as a class.

V. W., however, confuses the reforms advocated by various politicians and the daily struggle of the trade unionists. The difference is fundamental, and can only be understood by realising their nature and purpose.

Reforms are advocated by politicians in order to catch the votes of the unthinking workers. It makes a show of doing something for them. If the toilers vote for and support these reforms they are brought into the camp of the supporters of capitalism, and the work of making them Socialists still remains to be done.

These reforms leave the material condition of the workers untouched. They ignore the cause of the workers' sufferings, and thus, even after the Acts instituting the reforms are passed, the cause continues unchecked, and produces the very effects the reforms are supposed to remove.

The reformers spend but a part of their time advocating reforms; the rest is devoted to allying themselves with the open enemies of the toilers to bring the latter further under the iron heel of the employing class.

What, on the other hand, does trade unio action signify?

The workers have but one thing to sell their latent energy. It is bought and other article of merchandise, and its price therefore, varies with the supply on hand and the demand for it. These ups and downs centre around a certain point, which is formed by the cost (measured in units of labour time) of the thing sold. The cost of producing the worker's commodity is the food, clothing, shelter

obs causes fierce competition amongst the workers, and thus drives wages down. The heavy rise in the cost of living (through cheapening of gold) also helps to keep wages below the value of labour power. The attempt to make the wage cover the cost of living (to get the value of their labour power) involves the toilers in a perpetual struggle. This is simply a commodity struggle at first, but it arouses herce and often bloody opposition on the part of the mas-ters, as their interests lie in retaining as much as possible of the wealth the workers make.

It is not a question of reform as ordinarily understood. It is simply a question of the working class keeping pace with the rising cost of living and also of making up for past wage reductions. Unless the toilers—Socialist and non Socialist alike-struggle, they will sink lower in the scale, and become impotent against the inroads of the masters upon the wage bill.

Marx pointed out in 1865 the great difference between the economic struggle of the working class and reform agitation, and his words apply with powerful force to-day.

"In all cases I have considered, and they form ninety-nine out of a hundred, you have seen that a struggle for a rise in wages follows only in the track of previous changes, and is the necessary offspring of previous changes in the amount of production, the productive powers of labour, the value of labour, the value of money, the extent of the intensity of labour extracted, the fluctuations of market prices, dependent upon the fluctuations of dedemand and supply, and consistent with the different phases of the industrial cycle; in one word, as reactions of labour against the previous action of capital. By treating the struggle for a rise of wages independently of all these circumstances, by looking only upon the change of wages and overlooking all the other changes from which they emanate, you proceed from a false premise in order to arrive at false conclusions." ("Value, Price, and Profit," Chap-

Whilst we point out the need for the daily struggles for increasing wages and resisting decreases, we also point out how powerless they are to change the system, with all the horrors it

A further quotation from the same work will be useful here.

"At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, and not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives. not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively abscribed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economic reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motte, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system.' Price, and Profit," Chap. XIV.)

The essential thing is to convert the toilers to Socialism, for nothing short of it can bring relief to them from the crushing burdens that press upon them. A rise in wages to-day brings in its wake more efficient machinery, speeding up, the weeding out of the older and less energetic "hands," and many other nethods to compensate the masters. They fight like grim death against the toilers' efforts to raise wages. but when the latter win they set about saving expenses in various ways prejudical to their

The truth of our view of trade union efforts may be gleaned not only from Socialists, but even from the leading capitalist statistician.

1900-8. Therefore British real or money wages have fallen heavily since 1900. A London platelayer, when he has the privilege of working days a week, can earn 21s, in 1910 as in 1900. But the real value of 21s. has fallen by about 9 per cent., that is, be earns 1s. 10d. per week less

He goes on to describe the power of the masters against the workers thus:

"The massing of capital in large units has so considerably strengthened the hand of capital in its dealings with labour that in recent years Trade Unions have comparatively lost much ground. To-day the masters in many of our industries can exercise collective powers much more effectively than Trade Unions. Combination amongst employers in some trades has reached a point at which it I as become possible to rule alike the price of product and price of

This supports the view that on the economic field the toilers have to meet a powerful enemy with huge resources to oppose to the former's puny pockets. The workers can hope for little from their struggle under these conditions, and must turn their attention to the real revolutionary work of getting political supremacy. Reforms are outpaced by the steady growth of misery among the masses through the increasing pressure of economic development. The working class, then, must cease reform advocacy if they are to attain the rower to sweep away the poverty and privation that are ever their A. Kohn.

OUR POSITION RE ECONOMIC ORGANI-SATION.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,- Having read carefully the article entitled "The Socialist and Trade Unionism," also your Manifesto, I fail to elicit what position your Party takes up on economic organisation. In the Manifesto it says the workers must organise upon a class basis politically and industrially the latter to be Socialist and all-embracing. In the article referred to above it says:

"All fit material, revolutionary or non-revolutionary, for the struggle on the economic field—the resistance to capitalist encroachment -can and must prosecute the fight together.

Do I take it, then, that this Socialist economic organisation which your Party says is necessary must be without affiliation to any political party? If so, why rave about the Industrial Unionists belying the revolutionary foundation of their organisation? Where do they state that they are going to take and hold the impliments of wealth production in defiance of the armed forces? What other means have the S.P.G.B. (save through Parliament by means of the ballot box) of seizing political power?

The symptons point to acute indigestion. We are afraid, Mr. Shearstone, you are in the habit of bolting your political fare without due mastication. The remedy is to chew the cud with run ination.

To take the morsel you have bitten cut of the article "The Socialist and Trade Unionism," for instance. If you had chewed the phrase "the resistance to capitalist encreachment" it would not have lain so heavy on your chest. For "resistance to capitalist encroachment" is not revolutionary. That is mere detence, while revolutionary action is essentially aggressiveit must attack

The very words quoted, then, plainly show that the writer of the article was not referring to a future economic organisation having a revolutionary object, but to present-day economic organisation, for the purpose of prosecuting the present-day struggle with present day un classconscious material. And the context of the quotation makes this plain.

This, of course, simplifies the matter. The question now is what is the meaning of the very

explicit sentence quoted from our Manifesto. When we say, speaking of the future econo-Mr. Chiozza Money says in the latest edition of "Riches and Poverty" (1910): "While since must be Socialist and all embracing, we justify mic organisation of the working class, that it 1900 nominal or money wages have been at a standard, the cost of living has continued to rise. The retail cost of food rose 9 per cent. in

they are non-Socialist, and because they have no room for the man who is unable to pay his dues. Of course, to point out these things is to

The actual words are: "The worker's organisation, political and economic, must be upon the basis of their class. . . . The workers' organisation must be Socialist and all-embracing." There is nothing in this that separates the economic from the political. There is no mention of two separate organisations. After all. the Socialist is class-conscious in two directions - economically and politically. He knows there is work to be done both on the economic field and the political. Does he have to cut himself in halves in order to do it? No. In each field his guide is the same his class interest. Being class-conscious, understanding his class position and the line of action necessary for his emancipation, his actions on both the economic and the political field are in perfectly harmonious corelation. There can be no separation of the two, no jarring, no friction, no contradiction, no overlapping, no jealousy, no wirepulling.

The workers' organisation is only the Socialist multiplied indefinitely. Politically it presupposes class conscious workers; economically it presupposes class conscious workers. And as there class conscious workers must fight on both the economic and the political field, and the organisation on its economic side and its political side must consist, in the main, of the same people, it is clear that there must be such close connection that the political and the economic are virtually one. You may call it affiliation if you like. You may speak of it as two organisations joined together, or as one organisa-tion subdivided. We, realising that it is the organisation of one class with one object, are content to speak of it in the terms of our Manifesto, as "The workers' organisation."

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

WHAT BECOMES OF SURPLUS-VALUE? TO THE EDITOR.

"Dovedale," Shoebury. Dear Sir, - Adam Smith, Mill and many others state that all the surplus value which is converted into capital is returned to the workers in the form of wages and consumed by them. Karl Marx, in "Capital," contradicts this, but gives no reason, saying he will analyse the matter in

another book.

I cannot follow Marx here, and should be obliged if you could spare space for a few lines of explanation in your vigorous paper. Is Marx referring to the fact that two thirds will be returned to the capitalists as surplus value while only one third will reach the workers in the KARL BLATCHER. form of wages?

Your statements of Adam Smith's and Mill's contention need confirmation. Can you give us exact references to these authors? The same would be helpful in the case of "Capital." While awaiting these references we might deal generally with your query.

The whole of the wealth produced is the re-

sult of the energy of the working class being applied to natural resources.

The forms under which this wealth exists does not alter the fact. Hence if the workers had all the wealth returned to them, whether as wages or anything else, it is clear that the capitalist class would starve to death

On the contrary, they lead luxurious lives and enjoy the best of everything produced.

Then they can only obtain this share by robbing the workers, and this share is evidently a portion of "surplus value"-that is, value over and above that needed to maintain the workers.

It is impossible to say exactly how much this surplus is, not only because of lack of complete returns, but also because of the fact that it is disposed of in different ways. A portion is used to increase the capital of industry, as in the provision of new machinery, premises, etc. A portion is spent in the scramble for markets in travellers, agents, and advertising; while the ground-landlord claims a part and the tax gatherer must be paid.

We see, then, that not only the capitalist, but

etc. necessary to keep the toiler in a fit condition

May, 1912

to go on producing.
The fact that there are more labourers than "surplus" produced by the workers over the amount needed for their own maintenance.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

L. Mackinnon (Manchester) writes: (1) On page 6 of the S.P.G.B. Manifesto it says "the workers' organisation, political and economic, must be upon the basis of their class.' want to know what the workers' economic organisation is.

(2) On pages 22-3 you say "Trade Unions being necessary under capitalism, any action on their part on sound lines should be heartily supported." I should like to know what you would call sound lines.

I have numbered the above questions for convenience in answering.

The answer to the first query is that the present economic organisation of the workers is the trade union movement. Mainly containing non-Socialists, its efforts are poor, but when the members recognise the class struggle their activities will bear greater fruit.

In answer to the second question our reader will find the sound lines indicated in the Manifesto itself. On page 7 we say "Any efforts on their part to resist the encroach master class deserve our sympathy and support.' After showing the limits that resistance finds in the rapid development of machine industry, we go on to say, speaking of the economic organisation: "Its tactics must be aggressive as well as defensive and its aim revolutionary.'

The real and important step, therefore, is to convert the members of the unions into Socialists, for until you make Socialists you cannot have Socialist unionism. They must be taught -in the words of the Manifesto itself -that the 'basis of the workers' organisation must be class solidarity and class interests.

"Sound lines" mean that while fighting the daily battles the toilers must adopt a policy of "No Compromise." They must have no regard for the master's interests or property. "Conciliation" and "Arbitration" schemes and long notices must be strenuously opposed. They have got to teach their members that the interests of workers and employers are in direct opposition. Above all, the trade unions must use all their powers to increase the solidarity of the revolting working class and show the need for the toilers acting as a class. There must be no blacklegging of one section upon another. and the grievance of one part must become the interest of all. Thus only can the unions be moulded into a body capable of assisting in the revolutionary change.

WHY POLITICAL ACTION IS NECESSARY E. J. Higgins (Philadelphia) asks the following questions:

(1) Why must you get political office to educate the workers?

(2) If you are not reformers why don't you preach Socialism outside of political office? There are no workers in office.

(3) What good does the political business do the working class?

Presumably, by "political office" political

representation is meant. Our correspondent fails to grasp our position.

We say the workers must be educated along Socialist lines if they are to capture political power. You cannot get Socialism except by working-class effort, and therefore that class must realise what Socialism is and organise to get it. Our attitude is quite opposed to the method of relying upon an "intelligent minority" dragging the majority after them. Hence in our view education is the prime need.

Side by side with the education outside, elected delegates can use the floor of the central and local governing bodies to teach the toilers the truths of Socialism, and thus increase the ranks of the organised revolutionary working

(2) References preach reform, not Socialism, outside as well as inside Parliament. We presch Socialism outside, and when there are sufficient Socialist workers to return a Socialist, Socialism will be preached inside.

Socialists do not intend to convert those "in office," and the fact that there are no workers there is therefore of no account.

While in a minority Socialists will use the wider platform of Parliament for the purpose of driving home to the toilers outside the truthe of the class struggle, the bitter enmity between the master class and the workers. From the higher vantage ground of the national assembly more workers could be reached with our message than from the small limits of ordinary propaganda.

But above all the Socialist minority in Parliament would be there as the advance guard of the Socialist working class marching to the complete control of the political machinery.

(3) Political action is essential to the supre macy of the working class. The masters control working-class lives and maintain their possessions, simply because they control the armed forces. Through centuries of economic and political development the forces of the Crown have been brought under the control of the elected assembly. Parliament controls supplies, and through the officials it appoints, it controls the movements of the Army, Navy, etc.

These are the forces brought up against the toilers, and in view of the terribly effective weapons now evolved, the workers are unable to stand against them.

What is the alternative to "political action" Opposition to this, the only effective method, has bred the "Propaganda by Deed," and the various forms of individual violence that give to the master class such fine opportunities to suppress all propaganda and to butcher the working class.

Besides the impotence of "violence" along these lines by the working class, it also outrages our fellow workers and gives the masters a deal of support from the toilers themselves. The movement is driven underground, and the sinister figure of the "agent provocateur" is seen doing his foul work

Under these conditions you cannot build up an organised working class party, as it is impossible to educate the toilers with your education diverted into secret societies. The Los Angeles event (and many others) has proved what a fine aid the individual violence craze is

Use the political weapons at your hand, the weapons evolved by generations of social growth and social change. Parliament is the central institution of politics to-day, and hence the workers' efforts should be directed towards capturing it. But if the employing class were foolish enough to alter the features of their political system, our tactics would be determined

However, the question always facing us would remain, viz., the control of the necessary forces to subdue the reactionary master class and their toadies. With the memories of the massacres of Coeur D'alene, Homestead, Lawrence and Colerado-to instance American atrocities-it is plainly true that the control of the armed forces is the power essential to working-class success.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A"DEBATE

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

BETWEEN

AT THE LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.F. (Peckham),

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

JUNE 1st., 1911.

LITTLE THINGS THAT MATTER.

It is a truly glorious thing to have the power of looking on the bright side of everything - to be buoyed up by an everlasting optimism that cannot be disappointed. Lloyd George is one of the lucky ones in this direction. According to him, via that well known "democratic" weekly called "Reynolds's" (7.4.1912), "unemployment was almost unknown in this country. is booming all over the world; Imports and Exports are piling up hand over fist; the Budget shows a surplus of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions: and the colliers are going back to work

* * * As the "Daily Mail" on one historical occasion remarked, the reserve army of labour was a necessity of capitalist production, its present almost complete absorption must strike the capitalists with anxiety. With business so brisk that the unemployed are almost gone, the opportunity for increases in wages and general improvements of conditions is worth noting by the working class and its various economic organisations. Perhaps this is the real reason for the Labour unrest of which we have heard something of late.

It is strange that with unemployment almost unknown, the passages to Australia are booked up months ahead, and the emigrant services to Canada, South Africa and other colonies should be so thriving. Last year the number of emigrants reached 260,000. Can it be that these passengers are prosperous workmen travelling for a holiday, or are they throwing up jobs here for uncertainties abroad? If the hundreds of thousands who are continually being shipped to the Colonies leave jobs to go, there must soon come a time when the "almost" is "quite," and what becomes of the necessary reserve army then?

Yet in spite of this optimistic outlook the unemployment that is "almost unknown" is a very real factor in many trades. The London printing trade is in a parlous state, and unemployment is worse rather than better in comparison with last year and previous periods. As, however, Mr. Lloyd George considers the coal strike a mere incidental interruption in the commercial prosperity, no doubt any unemployment among London printers is similarly incidental upon their strike of last year.

The optimism would appear to belong to Reynolds's" as an improvement on that of Lloyd George. So far as other reports of his speech go they refer to a diminution of unemployment, and a near approach to the lowest record. Which is a very different thing from unemployment being "almost unknown." however, must be left to "Reynolds's" and the Chancellor. We are still waiting to know why he didn't resign according to promise after three years without solving the social problem.

The anxiety of the miners' leaders to get the men back to work when an effort to hold out a little longer would probably have made sure of the minimum for which they have been struggling, is a bad bit of business. The railway men have on two occasions been induced, mainly by their leaders, to return to work just a little too soon. Promises should never be accepted. When the circumstances which produce them have been removed, they are so liable to be forgotten or re interpreted. Conciliation Boards and Minimum Wage Boards are poor substitutes for a much needed and hardly won rise in wages.

The fiction of the independent chairman of such boards would be amusing if it were not so tragic. With twelve men on either side the workmen have considerable danger of being overwhelmed by superior oratory and education. The independent chairman is certain to be of some social standing, with consequently a leaning, more or less pronounced, on the side of capital. It is impossible for a man to be neutral in a matter of living by or living on labour, and the man chosen to be the local board chairman is safe to be a liver-on.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST, FOR MAY.

(LONDON	DISTRICT.)

		•			
SUNDAYS.		5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	D. Campbell	A. Barker	A. Hoskyns	D. Campbell
and the same of th]. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	M. Scott &
Clapham Common	7·3° 3.30	J. Fitzgerald	F. Vickers	A. Kohn	A. Anderson
Edgeware-rd., Nutford-place	11 30	J. E. Roe	R. Fox	H. Joy	A Hoskyns
Edmonton Green		A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	R. Kenny	F. J. Rourke
	7.30	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	F. Vickers	A. Hoskyns
Finsbury Park	3.30 11.30	A. lacobs	A. Bartley	R. Fox	A. W. Pearson
Forest Gate, Sebert Road		F. Vickers	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte	F. Vickers
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	6.30	C. Ginger	F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs	A. Bays
Ilford (station)	7.30	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald	S. Blake	A. Bartley
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	A. Bays	F. Dawkins	F. J. Rourke	A. Kohn
D 12 " D : " (11/-1-	7.30	A. Kohn	F. Leigh	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30		C. Ginger	A. Bays	J. Fitzgerald
Parliament HIII	11.30	F. Leigh	A. Hoskyns	T. W. Allen	S. Blake
Peckham Triangle	7.30	H. Joy			A. Kohn
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Bd., Halston.	-11.30	R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald A. Barker	R. Fox
Tooting Broadway	11.30	A. Barker	H. Joy		
,,	7.30	T. W. Allen	J. E. Roe	A. Bays	D. Campbell R. J. Rourke
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	A.W. Pearson	A. Kohn	T. W. Allen	
,, ,,	7.30	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	A.W.Pearson	A. Jacobs
Walham Green Church	7.30	H. Cooper	H. Joy	A. Barker	H. Cooper
Walthamstow, Church Hill	8.0	A Hoskyns	D. Campbell	S. Blake	C. Ginger
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	D. Campbell	F. Stearn	C. Ginger	A. Barker
Watford Market Place	7.30	A. Kohn	A. W. Pearson	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill		T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	C. Ginger	F.Leigh
,	7.30	A. Barker	A. Bays	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson
MONDAYS.—Islington, H	lighbury	Cnr. 8.30. Walh	am Green Church	, 8 p.m.	

WINDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.]

WEDNESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. [Peckham Triangle 8.30.]

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church. 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Copenhagen St., Caledonian Rd., N.

PRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's tation, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh Honse, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

BARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd, Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 4th Mons. 8 p.m. EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON .- Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton. Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at

Fulham, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms,

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Lobb, 42, Oldfield-rd., Stoke Newington. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. TOOTING.—W. Thomas, Sec., 48, Salterford Road Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.90, at

Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction. TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd.,

WALTHAMSTOW.—H. J. Bernian, Sec., 30, Kimberley-road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8. at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD B. Street Communication of the Commu

w EST HAM.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 75 Napier-: d., West Ham. Branch meets altn. Mon. 7.30, at Boleyn WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone
Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets
1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall,
Brook-rd., Wood Green.
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OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the rorking-class is the last class to achieve its freelom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without istinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of he working-class itself.

• That as the machinery of government, includng the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of he wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

. That as all political parties are but the exression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination The CAPITALIST CLASS, may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that may be wrought to the system which deprives poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to consulity, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

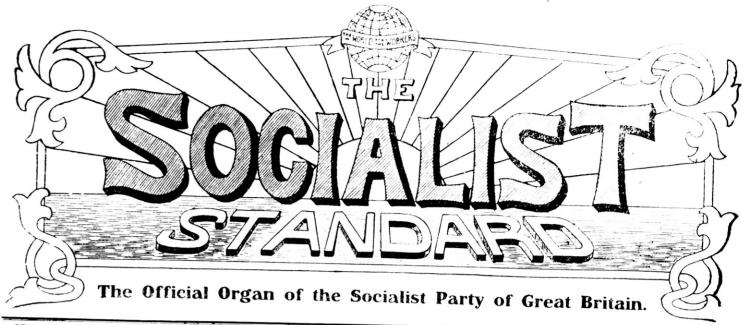
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Printed by A. Jacoma, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and Published at 10, Sandland Street, London



No. 94. Vol. 8.7

LONDON. JUNE 1912.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

BEHIND THE "LABOUR UNREST." THE CAUSE AND THE REMEDY.

In England, after 66 years of Free Trade, a century of Trade Unionism and of Social Reform, strikes and lock outs are the order of the day. Cotton operatives, printers, seamen, railwaymen, carmen, miners, tailors, dockers and transport workers, are all struggling for betterment.

The "labour unrest" is "explained" by various politicians in various ways. Lloyd George tells the "Daily News" man that the cause is the low wage of agricultural labourers; Bonar Law says it is the want of Tariff walls; the Anti-Socialist Union hirelings fix the blame on the Socialists.

The first, playing the Cobden game of turn-

ing attention on the

SLEEPING PARTNER

-the landowner-in working-class robbery, is effectively answered by Chiozza Money ("The Star," May 29) when he shows that agricultural workers' real wages have suffered less than the town workers' during the rise in prices. Mr. Bonar Law is silenced by the growing labour upheaval in Protectionist countries. Finally, the Anti Socialist Union may be reminded that the majority of those striking are, unfortunately,

Is it want of trade, Messrs. T. Reformer and F. Trader? The Board of Trade returns show an enormous increase! Is it want of wealth and power to produce, Mr. Malthusian? Lloyd George told you during the "unrest" debate in the Commons that the wealth produced and the ability to make it was unparalleled in human history. Income Tax returns have risen rapidly and recent wills prove that it is distribution, not production, at fault.

The two brothers Coats left 32 millions; the Duke of Fife a million, and it is reported in the 'Telegraph' that Rockefeller's income one year

£27,000,000.

Mr. H. G. Wells may talk of the need for "high pressure service," and Balfour babble of seeking "greater command over nature": the one cause of the ferment around us is the growing pressure of poverty amidst stupendous wealth.

Said Lloyd George at Cardiff, December 2th 1911: "To-day you have greater poverty in the aggregate in the land than you have ever had. You have oppression of the weak by the strong. You have a more severe economic bondage than you probably have ever had; for grinding labour to-day does not always guarantee sustenance or security. At any rate, that condition of things was foreign to the barbaric regime of the darker ages." He had a few minutes before this is the richest empire under the sun. If there is poverty, misery and wretchedness it is not because the land is sterile and bare and does not provide enough for all."

last ten years there has been a considerable increase in the total wealth of the country, but in that time the condition of the working class has not improved. It has actually deteriorated. From information supplied by the Board of Trade we know that during that period

THE COST OF LIVING

has gone up 10 per cent. and wages remained stationary.

Then at the National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution (Caxton Hall, May 31st, 1911) the Lord Mayor informed us that a hundred millions were spent on poor law relief and charity, and he asked: "Are we as a community getting the best return for that huge expenditure? Are we making destitution any less? Are we stopping the perpetual creation of new destitutition? In spite of greatly improved Poor Law administration, in spite of momentary good trade, there was on the 1st of January, actually a larger number of people in the workhouses than at any previous period of our history. Moreover, the plague of vagrancy seemed to be actually increasing."

Mark the words of the mental specialist, Sir J. Crichton Browne, at Tottenham Hospital on November 16, 1911: "We have in many of our industries adopted a policy of "speeding up," whereby men do their work in less time than formerly, and with fewer intervals of rest allowed them in the workshops and therefore with more exacting and exhausting calls on their nerves, which probably in some measure accounts for the great increase of reputed injuries to workpeople which we have to deplore. We have

BRINGING UP OUR BABIES

on anything but mother's milk, and by the employment of women in factories and by giving them an unrestricted sphere of activity, have curtailed that family life in which the young nervous system thrives best."

The result of this hustle is seen in the 65th Annual Report of the Lunacy Commissioners, which shows the number of inmates of lunatic Asylums to be 133,157, an increase of 2,604 in a year. The meaning of these terrible figures is driven home in the table showing that in 1859 the number of lunatics was only 36,762 Thus while the population increased but 85.8 per cent., the number of lunatics increased in the period 262.2 per cent.! How capitalism crushes the working class becomes plain from the fact that 121,172, or 91 per cent., of the total lunatics in 1911 were

PAUPER LUNATICS.

This was an increase of 2,271 over 1910, nearly all the year's increase being pauper inmates! On the other side Mr. Bonner Law told us increased lunacy is drink, but Sir J. Crichton Our teetotal fanatics often think the cause of (Manchester Nov. 16, 1911) that: "During the Browne exploded that idea. He said: "Drink-

ing is admittedly on the decrease. Sir Thomas Whittaker pointed out last year that £46,000,000 had been saved in the national drink bill, but it did not bring any diminution in the number of the mentally afflicted." In the same speech he said that whereas in 1890 the number of suicides was 2,205, in 1910 there were 3,577, and he blames the stress of modern society.

The worsening of the workers' lot is shown by

the fact that the children of the toilers are driven into the factories to a greater extent in order to "make both ends meet at home." The Board of Education in their report quoted by Mr. Chiozza Money in the "Daily News" on May 29th, says that out of a total of 691,000 children aged 14, only 155,682, or 22 per cent., attend day school. As Mr. Money remarks, this system "compels two persons, and sometimes three persons, to work for the wage which

ONE PERSON OUGHT TO EARN."

Schemes of social reform do not help matters. Says the Chairman of the West Ham Board of Guardians in the Annual Report just issued: 'Although a large number of out relief recipients have been transferred to the Old Age Pension list, the number of applicants for out relief has been steadily ascending. One of the principal causes is said to be the disinclination of employers to engage or retain persons of advanced years or suspected of infimity." As to indoor pauperism, the "Daily Chronicle" (Nov. 11th, 1911) said: "Indoor reliet in London has risen enormously. For the year 1886-7 the average number of indoor paupers (excluding casuals) was 54,861, or 13.7 per 1,000 of the population; last year it was 78,114, or 17.3 per thousand."

Millions never reach the Poor Law portals, but are murdered in the cradle. The National Liberal Federation says, in "A Nation Insured": "We have many large towns . . where 200 out of each 1,000 die within 12 months of birth. . . The wholesale sacrifice of infants is followed by the robbery of a great part of the life of those who survive. . . It is not pretended that the National Health Insurance can dispose of

THE DAMNING FACTS.

Of course it cannot. The only remedy is our remedy—the institution of a new social system, not fiddling with the effects of the present one. The evils which give rise to the "labour unrest" which convulses society is a necessary concomitant of the present social system. They arise inevitably from its competitive institutions, and will continue to arise as long as these comnetitive conditions remain

It is futile, therefore, for the master class to look for any cure for the "labour unrest," or for the workers to seek industrial peace. Under the system the fight must go on, and battle follow battle. Let us prepare, then, to end the strife by ending the system.

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM.

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

APHORISM I.

Society, as at present constituted, is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the conse quent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

To declare that any one fact, and especially such a seemingly superficial fact as the matter of the possession of property, can be the basis of the social system, will doubtless fill many people with astonishment. It seems to be reversing the order of things. It appears, to the ordinary untutored eye, that the ownership of property must arise out of and depend upon the social system, and not that the system arises out of and depends on the form of property ownership. Yet very few words will suffice to make it clear

that the truth is revealed in our first aphorism. Society is a number of people living in community, having dealings and relations with each other in the every-day affairs of life.

The sum total of all these relations forms the

system under which the people live,- the social system or the system of society.

It is quite clear, therefore, that the form these dealings or relations assume will determine the form of the social system, and that whatever fact or facts shape the relations between the units of society shape the whole system of society—which is nothing but the totality of those relations.

Now if you march into a baker's shop and take possession of a loaf of bread, you enter into relations with the baker.

These relations will vary, according as you have bought, begged, borrowed, or stolen the loaf. In the first case the relations between you are those between buyer and seller, in the second case those between giver and recipient, in the third case those between lender and borrower, in the last case those between robbed and robber.

But the significant fact is that, though each of these relations is different, owing to the different circumstances of your acquiring the loaf, they all arise from the one constant and unchanging factor that the loaf is the property of the baker to start with. If the loaf was not the property of someone it could not be bought or sold, begged or given, lent or borrowed, or the subject of a theft.

In St. Paul's Churchyard many pigeons may be seen. They belong to nobody. You cannot beg, borrow, or buy one of them, for there is no owner to give, lend, or sell them. If you take possession of one you have stolen nothing. You cannot enter on account of these pigeons, into any of the relations with those about you that characterised your taking possession of the baker's leaf. Even the law cannot oblige you in this respect, for the only charge that can be preferred against you- and that is only by an obvicus straining of the law to neet an awkward situation—is that of unlawful possession: the charge, not that you have something belonging to someone else, but that you have something

that does not belong to you.

Now it is beyond dispute that that which makes the difference in the relations between you and your fellows in the given instances is the fact that the loaf is the property of some person or persons while the pigeon is not.

If we look around to try to discover what are the social relations that occupy the largest and most important place in the social scheme, we find that these are those relations which arise out of the production and distribution of wealth

The reason of this lies on the surface. It is because every living person must be a wealth consumer as the first essential condition of his or her existence.

These relations pervade the whole of society. None can escape them. What form do these social relations take?

Wealth is produced by the application of human energy to the material provided by nature. All wealth, as the term is understood in political

the working-power of the horse does not shake this statement, for the horse itself is wealth, the product of human energy applied in horse breeding and rearing. Its energy, therefore, takes no higher rank in the production of wealth than that developed by a steam engine.

The two things, then, which are fundamentally necessary to the production of wealth are human labour-power and nature given material.

But to-day, in addition to these, highly developed machinery and other means of production and distribution are necessary before wealth can be produced and placed at the disposal of the consumer, for, under the system, and in the broad sense, human energy can only be applied to material through these means of production.

All normal people within certain limits of age, possess one of these essentials of wealth produc tion-human labour-power. But before it is possible for them to create objects of value they must have access to the natural material and to the means of production.

Here, then, is the primary need of every person that draws breath, if that person is to be self-supporting - access to the nature-given

material and the productive machinery.

Now let us place these things, desired of all people, in the circumstances of the baker's loaf and the Churchyard pigeon respectively, and see what happens—what effect it has upon the great mass of relations between man and man which go to make up the social system.

In the first case, with material, machinery and the like the property of individuals, two sets of relationships may arise, according as these things are owned by those who use them or by those

In the Middle Ages the means of production largely belonged to those who used them, and access to agricultural land was the common right. As a consequence the relations between the social units were entirely different to those obtaining to-day. Men had the means of gaining their livelihood in their own hands, and so the wage-worker, the man who had no source of subsistence other than the sale of his labourpower, was practically unknown.

But we are not concerned at the moment with that property condition which was the basis of the feudal social system. We know that to-day the things necessary for wealth production are not, broadly speaking, owned by those who use them. That fact, at least, requires no demonstration.

In this case those who do not share in the possession of the productive wealth must get the sanction of the owners before they can apply their labour-power in the creation of wealth

On this fact the whole structure of modern society is based. All the relations between the social units take their shape from this, as we

In the first place, those people who are with out property in the means of production find others standing between them and the sources of life. To make mere assertion of that which is too well known to need argument, they have to sell their labour-power to the owners of the means of living in order to obtain subsistence. What other means of living have they?

Thus is set up that large and important group of social relations and social institutions which we have before noted. First, society is divided into two classes-employers and employees; those who possess and those who do not possess So the very two-class nature of society, with property as the differentiating agent, is shown to be founded on the ownership of the means of living by the master class.

Secondly, the wages system, with the labour market-into which every propertyless person is driven, to seek his livelihood by the sale of his labour power-together with the whole range of relationships between people on the industrial field—the relations between employer and employed, foreman and underling, and even those arising between master and master competing against one another for labour power at the lowest price, and between worker and worker competing for jobs-all these relations and institutions are set up by the possession of the means of living by a class.

One other great and striking characteristic of the present social system arises out of this basic property condition, but one to which we are so mines the form of the social structure, no attempt accustomed that we are surprised to find that | has been made to explain what determines the feature is peculiar to the present system. It | the basis of society. This point will arise in economy, is produced thus, and only thus. Even | is that all the wealth of society is produced as | another connection.

commodities, that is, as articles for sale instead of for the use of the producer.

This is a very important distinction. It takes away from mankind the sane, logical purpose of productive effort, and replaces it with an incentive more mad even than the inmates of Bedlam. Bread is no longer produced to feed people, but because profit may be made from its production and sale. And the remark applies to all other goods.

Where goods are produced for use the incentive to produce remains as long as a human need is unsatisfied. But when production is for sale, it ceases when goods cannot be sold, though the children of a nation are crying for bread and perishing for want of clothing and shelter.

And, strange as it may appear, though with the productive instruments belonging to those who use them, there may be famine as the result of scarcity, with the instruments belonging to those who do not use them there must be famine on account of the very plenitude of wealth.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The wealth the wage worker produces must, in order to satisfy the employer, exceed the amount of his wages, and therefore must exceed the amount he is able to buy back and consume. This surplus of commedities, far in excess of the requirements of the masters themselves, accumulates in the warehouses until the mass is so vast that the markets are glutted. Then production is strangled. There is no demand and no prospect of sale for further products. The incentive to create wealth has ceased. The machines are stopped, the factories partially or wholly shut down, the workers thrown out of employment, and all the miseries of famine stalk the land because too much wealth exists.

If the means of living were in the case of the pigeons in St. Paul's Churchyard an entirely different social system would of necessity result.

But first, it must be noted, the real position of the pigeon is different to its nominal position. The effect of the straining of the law is to make the pigeon the property of the community, but capitalist law is always shamefaced when acting on be half of the community-it cannot understand anything other than private property.

Were the means and instruments of production the property of no individuals, but of the community as a community, the wages system could not exist. Each one having equal right of access to the means of living, none would be compelled to sell his labour power to another person in order to live. In addition, none would purchase labour-power, firstly because none would have opportunity to do so, and secondly, because, even if any could, since no individuals would possess the means of production, none would be able to exploit labour-power.

So society could not be composed of two or more classes- could know no class distinction at all, in fact. It could not contain masters and men, and could not be founded on the labour of a section of the community. No able-bodied member of the community would be exempted from rendering his due quota of useful service to the community, in return for the material wealth which society placed at his disposal, for in the absence of private ownership there would

be nothing on which to base such privileges. And in a scc al system founded upon con mon ownership in the means of living, goods could not possibly be produced for sale. As now the wealth created belongs to those who own the machinery and factories—the masters, so then the product of labour would belong to the owners of the means of production—the community. The community could not sell the goods to itself, and there would be no party outside the community to whom to sell. Hence goods could only be produced for use, and production would continue as long as there were social needs to be satisfied.

What has been said shows how the social ystem of to-day is "based upon the ownership of the means of living by the capitalist or master class," and also how this class ownership results in the enslavement of the working class who are doomed to a life of drudgery and want because every avenue of life is closed to them save that of the wage-labour market. But while it has been shown that the basis of society deterJune, 1912.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

[TO THE EDITOR.] Manchester, 12.5.1912.

SIR. - Your article in the current issue of the S.S." on "Why we oppose Labour Leaders," prompts me to reply as follows.

In the first place what do you mean by "La bour Leaders"? My conception of the term may or may not coincide with yours, but to put it to the test let me define what I take the term

I would say that a "Labour Leader" is one who, in the opinion of the rank and file of the organisation he belongs to, political or industrial, is the most capable exponent of that organisation's principles. The most capable man to be found in the organisation who, in addition to expounding its principles and objects, can effectively retaliate and confound its critics. That is my conception of a prominent man in "Labour circles," who nowadays is popularly termed a "leader.

But this applies equally to the S.P.G.B. Does it not elect its representatives in debate? Do not the industrial organisations elect their 'leaders" in like manner? Aye, even more democratically than does the S.P.G.B. its debaters and official speakers, for the S.P.G.B. Executive have absolute control over the appointment of them, while a trade union does elect, either by ballot of the membership or at its business meetings, its officers and representatives. So, to speak, as your article does, of placing themselves at the head" of their organisations is hardly correct—as your contributor admits later on, when he says that "leading, after all, is by consent," which is somewhat different to "placing themselves."

Personally, I am inclined to think that leaders are more or less necessary to any movement. Take, for instance, the official organ of the S.P.G.B. Its articles generally come from the same pens month after month, and those articles are taken by almost every member of the Party as the official utterances of the whole Party, yet the decision of that is vested in either an editorial committee or the whole Executive. Where do the rank and file come in? It has to be published before they can agree or disagree, and if they disagree, as did a section of your members over the "W.B." (Upton Park) reply (Feb. 1910), they have an almost insuperable task before them to convince, not the Party, but the Executive Committee. Anyhow, that by the way.

To my mind, so great a number of the work ing class have the unfortunate practice of following" that I am inclined to think that even on the stroke of capitalism's doom they would be "following" rather than "conscious of their "historic mission," and would enjoy the 'fun of the fight." For the same contributor, in his article "Might is Right," tells us that it is only "opportunity" that is wanted to establish the workers' right to the full products of their labour, brought about, of course, by might. Whether each and every one of the struggling workers is to be a conscious instrument or merely a "tool" in the execution of their mission we are not told. Men will "follow the Again, there are men who lead and at the same time preach doctrines identical with your own. They lead because the "led" recognise their ability and worth. I myself have questioned the "led" on such occasions, and frequently they have been unable to say in anything like an intelligent manner, much less clear, why they allowed them to lead, or themselves to be led

Fraternally yours, EDWIN GARVEY.

My dear Mr. Garvey, though, as a student of Darwin, I am well aware that some people do have funny children, I really am surprised at you. If you have been a purchaser of the "S.S." ever since "Might is Right" appeared, and have learnt no more than this, then we have been taking your money for nothing, and I must see about getting it refunded.

Your conception of a "Labour leader" indeed.

about themselves whenever they can get a mug to listen to them.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

But you must have had somebody in your mind, Mr. Garvey, surely. Who was it? Was it the Right Honourable John Burns, who so warmly defended the Featherstone butchery? Was it Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., who exhibits such fine contempt for the "drink-sodden democracy "? Was it Mr. J. R. Macdonald, who called the Civil Servants sponges and said that it is "high time" they were told they would have to submit to the same terms as labour in the outside market? Was it Mr. H. Quelch, whose only definite principle is what he calls the "One-and-one Principle"? Was it Mr. W. Thorne. M.P., who assured his audiences from his election platform that he did not stand as a Socialist candidate and then said on the bal-

of the "count": "It is a great victory for Socialism and Labour"? Was it any one of the forty two so-called Labour M.P.s who sit cheek by jowl with the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and dare not vote for their own amendments for fear of embarrassing their allies? Who was it, good friend Garvey, whom you took for type when you painted what you term your conception of a "Labour Leader"? Perhaps you nodded in some tin chapel, where your hero was sacrificing himself to make a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon," and you got him mixed up with the stained glass angels on the

cony of the Stratford Town Hall on the night

Now I will give you my conception of the term Labour leader." First and foremost he is one who desires to lead. There may, course, be various reasons for this desire. It may arise from sheer egoism-the craving to loom large in the public eye; or it may proceed from the lust of pelf. But commonly it is due to an admixture of reasons, in which the chief and guiding one is the consideration of the eternal, omnipresent, almighty question of bread and butter. But there it is-he wants to lead, he must lead, he will lead, and, say you and the likes of you, he shall lead. It is that, and you, who make the Labour leader," or, that I may not fall behind you in humble respect for His Nibs, the 'labour Leader.'

The second point is that the "Labour leader" must have no principles. Principles are very ugly customers in the eyes of the "Labour They demand a certain consistency of action which is beastly awkward to the political weathercock. In addition to this, and vastly more important, men who have principles and understand them cannot be led. They are the masters of the situation. They know whither they want to go, for the road is clearly pointed out by their principles. Their collective understanding of these principles, and their collective wisdom, and courage, and determination in the prosecution of the line of action which these rinciples demand, far outweighs that of any individuals. What men with principles want. therefore are not leaders and bosses, but servants to do their bidding. This the "Labour leader" understands well enough, and so he has no concern with principles. Indeed, so far. Mr. Garvey, is your conception from being correct in this particular, that the "Labour leader cannot arise in an organisation which is firmly grounded upon any set of principles.

It is a very clumsy dodge of yours to profess a conception of a "Labour leader" in such form as precludes him from being a leader, and then asking where he differs from an S.P.G.B. representative. But again you show that it is your misfortune to have to look on these things through eyes which, to put it with becoming courtesy and gentleness, do not focuss accurately An S.P.G.B. debater is appointed by the E.C. for a specific and temporary purpose. He is not an official of the Party, for there is no office of Party Debater, as there is of Party Organiser, Party Treasurer, and so on. If there were it would be filled, as these offices are, by the Party membership. But the E.C. appoints debaters because the membership elects them to perform that duty among others.

And as for your remarks concerning the publication of the Party Organ, you answer your self when you say: "It has to be published before they," the rank and file (your expression, Well, you must have got it from the "Labour Mr. Garvey, not mine) "can agree or disagree." leaders" themselves. It is just what they say Exactly, and I should not be surprised if you Post Free

have hit upon the very consideration that moved the Party membership to saddle the E.C. with the task of getting it published. Every dog has his day - go up one.

"Where do the rank and file come in?" you ask. Every member of the Party comes in where and when he receives his copy of the issue. Every member of the Party has an opportunity to agree or disagree before he takes any part in pushing the sale of the Organ. What more would you have after confessing that the paper must be published before they can agree or dis

Your statement that a section who disagreed with the Party position on a certain matter had an almost insuperable task to convince the E.C. falls a trifle short of the truth. They had an absolutely insuperable task, and when they tried to convince the Party, the task was just as insuperable.

The article "Might is Right" does not contain the statement you attribute to it, nor anything like it. Your statement is rubbish and falsehood. As a matter of fact, the opportunity is always present when the workers are sufficiently educated and organised to seize it. And the inconsistency you fancy you can detect in the article you criticise vanishes directly you ask yourself whether, before a person can place himself at the head of a body of men he must be permitted to do so - in other words, he leads by consent.

Your inclination "to think that leaders are more or less necessary to any movement" be-trays the Anarchist. The Socialist knows that the strength comes, not from "prominent men," but from the class as such. While the class has no definite guiding principles, it will be the prey of so-called Labour leaders. The Anarchist, the Individualist, the man who is "inclined to think that leaders are more or less necessary to every movement," has no faith in his class, but only in individuals. Such alone are they who, "even on the stroke of Capitalism's doom, would be following," creating confusion, ignorant of the real object, blind to the real enemy, halting when they should march, sparing when they should strike, stampeding when they should snatch the fruits of victory from a beaten foe. Once again I proclaim, as many Socialists have proclaimed before me, and as my comrades are proclaiming from our platforms day by day, there is no hope save in the class. There is no hope save in the working class understanding, not their but its own politics. Therefore the Socialist, who has faith in the inevitability of Socialism, has faith also in the working class. He has faith in its intellect, faith in its courage, faith in its tenacity, faith in its mission, and therefore faith in its triumph. Those who doubt in any one of these matters cannot be Socialists are unworthy to stand in the ranks of those who are fighting the battle of the working class. They doubt their class; they have contempt for the capacities of their class; they can be nothing but enemies of their class. If they be men who have had ample opportunity to learn the truth, then the best place for them is in the ranks of the B.S.P., where they can sit in open-mouthed adoration of those "leaders" whom they appraise above the class they are part of

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY

BRING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.F. Peckham),

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM, JUNE 1st., 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

OPPICIAL NOTICE

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions fo the Socialist Standard, articles correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, A.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last

Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS. UNITED KINGDOM. Twelve Months AMERICA. Twelve Months 50 cents Six , 25 cents

The Socialist Standand



THE FRUIT OF "VICTORY."

Last month comment was made in these columns on the persuasion by the miners' leaders of the men to return to work too early, as well as on the impossibility of the "impartial chairman being impartial. Within the short span of a month both points of criticism are borne out by the development of events.

Lord St. Aldwyn, better known when Tory Chancellor as Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, was the 'impartial" chairman for the South Welsh District Board set up by the Bill that settled the recent coal strike. He is reported by the miners' leader, Mr. C. B. Stanton, to have surrendered the men to the coal owners.

Says Mr. Stanton: "Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir. E. Grey and others, told our National Executive they considered 5s. per day very reasonable for any man who worked in the mine as a minimum wage. Lord St. Aldwyn has given us a 3s. minimum. This is not a living wage, but a measly, wretched surrender to the Welsh coalowners, whose profits, greed, and obstinacy at all times are notorious. How any man could, upon the evidence, give such a verdict I cannot understand.

But Mr. Stanton ought to know that the "independent" chairman, even with the collusion of the Government as he suggests, is quite capable of betraying the men and converting a promised increase of wages into a decrease. When did Mr. Stanton put any value upon a Liberal promise to the workers, or trust the 'impartiality" of a Tory politician? exactly when it was least justified-when the strike had driven the master class and the political wire-pullers, Liberal and Tory alike, to an extremity.

It was easy for the Liberals to premise the "5 and 2" and to sympathise with the men in their 'reasonable' demands. And very convenient to leave to the "impartiality" of a retired Tory politician, the execution of the premise.

Says Mr. Stanton further: "The rank and file know where the mistake was made before: we shall not repeat that mistake again." But it seems to us that the mistake need never have been made at all. Mr. Stanton was among the leaders who advised the men to accept the Bill. with its machinery of "impartial" boards and "independent" chairmen, even against the better judgment of the men. It was the leaders who should have known what the masters and their political servants were likely to do once the men were back again at work.

We of course, can draw no satisfaction from the turn events have taken, except from the fact that in bearing out our prognostications they have given further proof of the existence of the class struggle and the solidarity of the capitalist class against the workers. Had the miners' actions been guided by this knowledge they would not now be lamenting that they have been tricked by the masters and sold by—but the law lings, but from the Socialists. of libel holds us dumb.

THE "HUNGRY FORTIES" AND NOW.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

LIBERALS, when discussing the present condition of the working class, or upholding their social reform legislation, are very prone to point to the 'hungry forties," and the condition of the working class under Protection.

While admitting the badness of the condition at that period, we might also ask ourselves: 'Are we so much improved since then?

The so-called saviours of the working class the Liberals to wit-have held the reins of Government for the major portion of the last sixty years, and the Conservatives have been in power for the remainder of the period. Starvation and misery were rife in the forties, no doubt, but are they appreciably less in evidence to-day?

Do not forget that wealth is produced twenty times as fast as it was in 1840, owing to the development of machinery. Yet where do the workers stand?

Let us take a few statements from capitalist economists and statesmen.

Mr. Chas. Booth :- "There are 32 per cent. of the population of London living on 6d. per day."

Mr. Seebohm Rowntree:—"8.5 per cent. of the families of York have incomes of less than 21s. per week; average family, six persons."

Mr. D. Lloyd George, M.P.: "You have got, side by side with most extravagant wealth, multitudes of people who cannot consider even a bare subsistence as assured to them. What do mean by a bare subsistence? I don't mean luxuries. I exclude even comforts. I mean that minimum of food, raiment, shelter, and practically the care which is essential to keep human life in its tenement of clay. The wolves of hunger prowl constantly round millions of doors in

Mr. C. F. Masterman :- "What was the use of building cathedrals and great central halls of worship when under their very shadow life was being upreared under conditions more intolerable than the world had ever seen."

Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money: - "I do not think it is generally realised that during the last 15 years the wages of the British workman have fallen. The Board of Trade knows nothing of a certain class of boot workers who earn twelve shillings in a seventy hour week.

30,000,000 people of the United Kingdom own no land.

Seven London landlords draw £14,640,000 per annum in ground rent.

Can anything be worse than this? Are Free Trade and Protection worth talking about? Is not there some deeper cause of the workers' Is it not time that the working class poverty? awoke to the fact?

Our duty is plain. Why are we poor? Be cause we are robbed by the capitalist-whether by a rack-renting landlord or a sweating com-We are robbed of a large portion of the wealth we produce.

Britain, with all its vast resources, belongs to a few people. These few own cur jobs; owning

these they own our lives. We, the workers, provide the finest of clothes and wear the shoddy. We build the palaces and live in the slum. How long will we stand this producing for profit instead of for use? A baker does not produce bread to feed peoplehe produces it for profit. Profit is his incentive,

The working man or woman who depends from week to week upon wages is face to face with hunger and misery as soon as employment ceases. Why should there be starving people in a land of plenty?

When our masters talk upon wages or work they speak not as Liberals or Tories, but as exploiters. The workers send the masters or their representatives to Parliament, where they control the armed forces which shoot you down when on strike for better conditions. Remember what Liberals and Tories have done at Peterloo, Belfast, Featherstone, Llanelly, Liverpool, and Mitchelstown. Give up your blind faith in the of persons in this country who have personal Liberal and the Tory; use your political power | interests in that part of the world will be ready for the benefit of your wives and your children, yourselves and your class. Study Socialism and

J. Cushing.

CUTLETS

WITH S.P. SAUCE.

Home Rule looms large in that vital organ, the public eye. Whether the Bill will kill the Pope or whether the Germans will land at Belfast are questions that agitate the minds of patriotic Britishers. Of course, the Labour Party cannot be left out, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald gave the Home Rule Bill his sanction and blessing. In view of this, the following extract from the 'Labour Leader" of November 10th last, will not be out of place.

In an article entitled "Liberalism and Progress" the writer, Mr. H. Dubery, lets fall this

"What is 'the pathway of progress' from the Socialist standpoint? 'The test I bring to every measure introduced in the Louse of Commons recently said one of our leaders, 'is this. Will this Bill on the whole increase that share of national wealth and comfort that goes to the working class? If it does that by even a fractional amount, I will support it. If it does not, then it is to me a non-essential.'

"Taking this statement as a test, let us apply it . . . to the Home Rule Bill. we shall see that when the smoke of battle has cleared and the horrible din has subsided, not one working man will be a whit the better off. nor will the nation be a step further along the

true 'pathway of progress.'"
Yet the Labour Party, whose organ is this self-same "Labour Leader," support the Home Rule Bill. They are playing the same game of chasing the Will o'-the-wisp, of leading the workers "up the garden."

Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., the P.S.A.-tin bethelmonger, speaking at a Brotherhood meeting on April 13th, remarked that Christianity had failed to arrest the masses. From the masters' point of view it hasn't: it still does its dirty work well. But one of the leading clerical lights. the Bishop of the Falkland Isles, thinks that its sphere is not large enough, and urges the necessity of a fund to extend the movement in South

In an appeal that is being widely circulated among the frauds of Christendom the Bishop "The Bishop of the Falkland Islands Fund. For religious, educational, and medical work in Western South America, which must be carried out before the opening of the Panama Canal in 1913. The future success of British influence depends upon the answer to this ap-

The appeal has the support of Lord Northcliffe, the well-known Salvation Army field-officer, and from the accompanying explanation we gather the following extracts:

"The Chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce represents the business men of the capital of the Empire. He asked to be convinced as to the use of the £100,000 for which the Bishop asks. The case was put before him, and at a Mansion House meeting he said: 'This is the finest commercial investment the traders of this country could make.

'The Archbishop of Canterbury writes: 'I am impressed and interested by the Appeal which the Bishop of the Falkland Islands is now making, and earnestly hope that he may elicit a really adequate response from those who have financial and other interests in South America, and especially on its Western coastline. The conditions are unique, the possibilities are immense, and the Bishop, in addition to his personal gifts as a religious teacher, is eminently well qualified to arrange and control the work

wisely. I very cordially wish him God-speed."

"The Archbishop of York writes: 'The cause for which the Bishop of the Falkland Islands appeals is one which ought specially to commend itself to all who care for the welfare of our own people in the vast territory entrusted to his care. I trust that the very large number to acknowledge its claim."

And so Christianity continues, propped up find out what it is, not from your masters' hire- by interested men, supported by the capitalist class as a means whereby they can keep the chains of wage-slavery bound more tightly

around you. The position laid down in our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion" has yet to be shaken, and the worthy bishop, in his blindness comes and amply substantiates that position Christianity closely reflects modern capitalist interests. We are out to slay capitalism. Look to it that the end is speedily brought about.

Amidst the turmoil and strife of the last coal strike at least one idea was prominently heralded as the means of salvation for the working class (and let it be quietly known-for the master class). I refer to the "dark horse" known as Co-partnership.

To those who have freely imbibed at the fountain of Co-partnery the following document will serve as a kind of "digestive tablet."

"SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS CO." "TO ALL CO-PARTNERS."

"We now know the cost of the coal strike to this Company, and it has been very heavy. A very big price has to be paid (the larger part going out of the country) for coal purchased abroad in substitution for that undelivered to us by reason of the unfortunate disagreement between the owners and men. But our obligations to our consumers could not be set aside at any cost. To have done so would have in some respects irretrievably damaged our business, and as a result seriously harmed the employees who are our partners in it.

"My object in issuing this statement is to urge that all Co-partners will try by special endea-vour to replace the lost tens of thousands by zealous working, and scrupulous economy in the materials used in our undertaking. Much has been accomplished, more can be, to avoid waste either of Time or Stores, and I feel sure I shall not ask in vain for the help of all our employees in the very anxious time through

employees in the which we are passing.

CHARLES CARPENTER,

Chairma April 24th, 1912.

There is Co-partnership Profits are shared, oh! yes, and the workman may get a problematical increase (although in comparison with the wealth produced he is poorer), but when it comes to losses, well, one class of Co-partners share that, and that class is called the Working Class, alias "the Great Unwashed." In spite of the use of the plural

("our" and "we"), when losses are incurred

you must "try by special endeavour to replace

them by zealous working."

Co-partnership is merely a narcotic for the working class, to imbue them with the idea that they have an interest in the business, and under its influence they are speeded up, made to economise in materials, and all the sooner driven on to the scrap-heap. No, Socialism is the only hope, and Co-partnership is only—a hope.

"The B.S.P. Babes" have been at it again. In spite of their frequent protestations of the similar nature of Liberal and Tory, they still play the game of voting "agen the Govern-ment." The following is culled from "Justice" of May 25th, 1912:

"At South Hackney the Liberals in their panic have rushed the election so as to prevent a three-cornered contest. In that, unfortunately, they have succeeded; but we hope every Socialist and Labour elector in the division will vote Tory and so deal a blow at the present Government.'

Poor old B.S.P.! Just as a burglar does not become honest by calling himself King George, so the S.D.P. has not become Socialist by changing its name. That work has still to be done and we are the Party to do it.

After a week of revelry, of riotous living, of gay feasting, of nautical cake-walks, and of splashing saucy mermaids, the Sea-King has now returned from seeking his fleet. It is quite possible, nay, probable, judging by the newspaper reports, that he is now able to tell the difference between an aeroplane and a battleship.

Star" did not come home in the "Two Thousand of the killing and maiming of their comrades. Guineas," so the King of Denmark did not come | with the fear of the same happening to themhome in the Monarchy Stakes. He was un- selves; and perpetually hanging over them the known to the police, which is strange for a possibility of unemployment, slow-starvation,

THE MEANING OF LIFE.

PROBABLY ever since men have possessed the faculty of reasoning they have, each one of them, at some time or another, asked themselves what life means to them. Most men have conceived of life in its direct relation to themselves. A few, however, with a wider knowledge and a greater power of concentrated thought, have attempted

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE

in life which shall apply, not only to themselves individually, but to the whole of humanity as they know it. How unsuccessful they have been in this attempt a study of the history of philosophy clearly shows. From the philosophy of Thales in the 6th century B.C. to the Bergsonian cult of the 20th century A.D. is a far cry. Yet if we smile at the conclusion arrived at by Thales that the principle of all things is water, it may well be asked whether the theory of Bergson that "life is nothing more than consciousness using matter for its purpose" is very much more satisfying to the ordinary man or

No. Though abstract ideas (or ideas as abstract as they can be conceived) may possibly be a source of a certain amount of intellectual pleasure to idle dreamers and philosophic doubters, vet how little do such ideas come within the scope of the man or woman

STRUGGLING FOR EXISTENCE

in the seething whirlpool of modern capitalist society! One can imagine what would be the outcome, for instance, if such a man as Bergson, instead of addressing himself to a well-fed, wellclothed, more or less well-educated "upper class" audience, were to turn his attention, say, to a meeting of miners striking for a minimum wage of 5s. per day, or a crowd of sweated East-end tailors and tailoresses, and try to talk to them about the "identity of contraries" or the 'joy of creative evolution.

It is the same with philosophy as with art and literature, as with culture in general. Such things are only for the rich, for those who, neither toiling nor spinning, live on the labour of the uncultured working class. Even if any "culture" manages to filter down to the great mass of the people (the working population) it usually reaches them in such a

VILE AND EMASCULATED FORM

as to be worse than nothing at all. The workers' business in the world (so our pastors and masters tell us) is to work, to work hard, to work contentedly, leaving to their "betters" the philosophical, the literary, the artistic knowledge. But they do not tell us that philosophy and art are, actually, the gift of past and present society to the philosophers, and should, in turn be offered with a free hand back to society.

What does life mean to the working class to day? What is the working-class outlook on the world? Ask the alkali worker of Widnes or St. Helens and he will tell you that to him it means working for twelve or more hours a day in return for the sum of perhaps twenty shillings a week, a dragging out of existence, with teeth rapidly rotting away, half-blind and asthmatical, liable at any moment during his period of employment to inhale sufficient poisonous gas to make speculation on life, or on anything else, evermore impossible for him.

What does life mean to the men and women in the white-lead factories? A period between birth and death, wherein they work for a miser able pittance in an atmosphere laden with deathdealing dust, becoming paralysed, purblind and insane at the time when they should be in the fulness of health and strength; it means for the women the agony of bearing

STILL-BORN CHILDREN or children literally soaked in the poisonous

fumes among which the mother is obliged to work. What does life mean to the railwaymen, to the miners, to the industrial workers in general Of interest to race-goers. Just as "White | Hard and unremitting toil; the contemplation A. L. C. an early and wretched death.

The majority of men are totally unable to realise what life could be made. Even if a few have a vague idea of what existence should be and the strength of will to put such idea into practice, yet the environment in which they find themselves, the circumstances surrounding them, very soon crush out this vitality, leaving them disillusioned and bitter, doggedly going through their day's work

WITHOUT HOPE OF REWARD

or the possibility of change (except for the worse); or, in despair, blindly smashing themselves against the forces that enslave and degrade

Surely life holds for us something more than this if we could only understand it. The Socialist, at any rate, with his knowledge of the forces working in society and his further knowledge of the way in which these forces could be used, could be diverted, in his own and his fellow's interest, sees life as something different, something greater, than a continual round of hard and degrading work, of sordid sorrows and still more sordid pleasures. If philosophy is of any use at all it is to teach men how to live. And the Socialist philosophy does this. It speaks to the only people in society who are now worth speaking to the people of the working classadjuring them to work out their destinies in spite of the almost overwhelming powers of capitalism that are arrayed against them. Learn, it says in effect, that no man is fit to be your master any more than you are fit to be the master of any man;

ANALYSE SOCIETY

with all its evils and miseries, find the cause of these evils and miseries, and then act in such a way as to abolish, once and for all time, this root evil that makes life a curse. While you have two classes in society, while there is a do minant class and a class dominated, while there are masters and slaves, you must have brutality on one hand and cringing servility on the other and undying hatred on both sides. With such a state of things what chance is there to evolve any other form of life but one that can only be compared to the ape and the tiger stage. Life is movement. Nothing living can ever become stagnate. If the human race is not going forward to something higher than itself then it is certainly going back to some lower form of life. It rests with the working class to say whether we shall sink back into a state of barbaric chaos. whether we shall, perhaps (it is possible), perish in our entirety; or whether we shall move upward to a form of life undreamt of to day.

THERE IS THE TASK,

hard task admittedly, but worth the doing Life to the Socialist means unremitting toil in the cause of Socialism, perseverance in spite of all discouragement, the marching onward in the face of all doubts and difficulties. Even if we of this generation do not see and taste the fruits of our sowing, yet even then we shall have our reward - in the knowledge that we have fought on the side of energy against apathy of youth against the decrepit, of life itself against death

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

'Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.) "Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).

'Gaelic American'' (New York)

'British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver). The Star of the East" (Melbourne) "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"The New World" (West Ham).

"Freedom" (London

A Central Economic Class is being held on Friday evenings at 8.30 at the Head Office, 10.

A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

How this "industrial unrest" does spread! If the said unrest is due to those "beastly agitators" it would seem that capitalism breeds

agitators faster than it does contented slaves. A report from Tokyo Japan ("Daily Chroni cle" 4.5.12) says: -

"It is practically impossible for the lower classes to earn sufficient for their bare needs. And that :

"The number of convicts has increased from 20,000 to 80,000 in the last five years."

Here we have cause and effect.

The staple diet of the Japanese worker is rice. So abnormally high is the price of rice that the income of the average family (Y.17 per month or ls. ½d. per day) is not sufficient to meet the increased expenditure (quoted at Y.25 per month). Consequently:

"There is a great amount of industrial unrest in the country, which is causing economists a lot of thought.

Again cause and effect.

The price of the labourer in Japan, as elsewhere, is determined by the cost of his food and other necessaries. But the capitalist in Japan is exploiting fresh fields, and, like the early industrial capitalists in this country, will squeeze surplus value from the toilers until they die off

The unemployed army in Japan will allow it. Cheap labour is plentiful, and so our capitalist can ignore the fact that to keep a slave class it is necessary to replace energy with energy.

The slave, however, is beginning to revoltwhich fact, doubtless, is responsible for "a lot

"It is a matter of serious consideration for the authorities," goes on the report, "whether this unrest can best be allayed by the reduction of the taxes on food or by religious congresses or charitable collections.

The religious influence is on the wane even in far-off Japan, and a Mr. Izawa is endeavouring to found a new religious body, whose plan is to gather a religious community around the Emperor, who is the direct descendant of the creator of the world, for the purpose of cultivating loyalty toward the Emperor and of elevating their moral ideas."

When the religious bluff fails they will fall back on the "reduction of taxes" and by removing the tax upon rice enable the workers to live more cheaply, and so obviate the necessity of

It is merely a repetition of the "bible and the big loaf." The development of capitalism in Japan is so rapid that the whole list of reforms and "revolutionary" measures over which the workers fought for years in this country will be passed in as many months.

That the influence of the Church in England is rapidly declining is seen from the following figures anent the "largest individual church in Nonconformity" (vide "Morning Leader").

"Including the whole of the 35 districts under the control of the English Wesleyan Conference, the total membership is 482,889. As compared with last year the decrease is 2,646. The total decreases for the past six years are as follows: 1907, 2,034; 1908, 4,424; 1909, 1,144; 1910, 2,299; 1911, 3,028; 1912, 2,646—total decrease in six years, 15,575."

Says the editor of the "Methodist Recorder (again vide "Morning Leader"):-

"We know the explanation that will be forthcoming—that other Churches are in like case, that figures are misleading, that our activities were never greater, that our energies are organised and systematised beyond all precedent, that social unrest is partly responsible, that we are suffering from wearisome discussion of the membership question, that we have more chapels than ever, and more workers, too, and so on.

painful facts than any one of them by itself; and al. of them are unsatisfying."

The religious communities are fast realising that their flocks are no longer so docile or so faithful as they were, and they are compelled to offer some better inducement than a short shirt

and a tin trumpet after decease.

The Rev. Thomas Phillips at the Baptist Union Congress (25.4.1912) said:-

"Eighteen thousand men receive 12s. a week or less; 50,000 men receive 18s. a week or less. Out of every fourteen workmen in London one is, or has been, a pauper at some period in his career: one in every five dies in a workhouse, a hospital, or an asylum. One million of our men receive £1 a week or less, and toil at tasks which give them neither security nor comfort. We are here enjoying ourselves, but within 300 yards of this place thirty to forty families are living in two houses. Seven per cent. of our population are in chronic want.

These things stagger a man's faith in God and man. I wish that London was not representative of England, but Mr. Rowntree has told the same story of York, and two clergymen have said that, in some respects, Edinburgh is even worse than London.

The villages are no better off. A writer in a recent number of the 'Sociological Review stated that he had found that, out of 300 people living in the villages, 193 did not get sufficient food to keep body and soul together.

"These things" staggered our faith in God long since, and working class faith in the power of parsons is by no means firmly rooted.

Mr. Phillips wants "Christian business men to devote their energy and power of organisation to settling this tremendous social difficulty. The Christian business men will support the Christian business when they can see that it pays them, and the churches to-day are not the chloroforming agency that they once were. As Mr. Fleming Williams said at the Congregational Congress (9.5.12):—

"The people are developing a social conscience in the exact ratio in which the Churches are neglecting to cultivate it. The inevitable result will be our Churches will be left high and dry. The world will go on forgetting our existence. They will leave us to discuss our little theological conundrums which hardly affect the great needs and wants of the world.

What the "Christian business men" want is a meek and docile wage-slave, and when the Churches cease to assist in supplying their demand they will take their "energy and power of organisation" and their contributions to a more productive agency.

The empty churches (and small contributions) are worrying the clergy to a far greater extent than the "labour unrest," and as the Bishop of London said when presiding at a meeting at Grosvenor House (6.5.12):-

"Many were breaking down, not from their work, but from the anxiety of keeping their churches going.'

The following advertisement in the "Daily Chronicle (4.5 12) is significant of the uses fo which the Church is needed

"THE LONDON CITY MISSION is engaged daily in working for the improve-

ment of the moral and spiritual life of LONDON'S TEEMING POPULATION

By the blessing of God the work is a potent factor for the upbuilding of sterling character, for the lessening of crime, and for the prevention of the outbreak of anarchism. 400 missionaries at work all the year round. Your help in this effort to spread the Gospel among the poor and artisan non-Church-goers of the Metropolis is earnestly solicited."

questions of what is called distribution—the | breasts of chicken were served to these pamdistribution of the produce of the world. But pered animals. speaking for myself, I do most seriously hold

But all these put together can no more alter the | and that is the amount you produce. The progress of mankind must fundamentally turn on the amount it produces, upon its growing control over the forces of Nature, upon all that science, invention, and industrial organisation enable it to do, to add to the daily produce and daily consumed wealth of the world. And important, vital if you please, as is the question of now what we make is to be distributed over the whole community, or among those who make it. behind all that there lies the yet more fundamental problem of how much you can make, and how you can increase the amount you are already making."

The above statement was made by Mr. A. J. Balfour at a meeting on "Syndicalism and Industrial Problems," held under the auspices of the Sociological Society (30.4.12).

It is typical of Balfour to spin long sentences meaning nothing on the subject under discussion and then to tail off with some definite (?) statement quite apart from the point.

The problem is not one of production but of ownership, and none knows that better than the

ex leader of the Tory party.

That there is sufficient wealth to day to provide for all is undeniable, and even were it not so the enormous amount of raw material ready to hand, the vast tracts of uncultivated land, the over-supply of labour power ready to be applied to that raw material and uncultivated land to produce more wealth, dispose at once of the absurd notion that the population has outgrown the resources of nature.

With the growing command by man over natural forces no fear need be entertained that the civilised world will ever know famine again. Man's struggle with nature for the means of life is over - and man has won. The struggle to-day is between man and man, between master and slave, between the plutocratic parasite and the propertyless producer.

While one section of the community are struggling to exist on from 5s. per head per week, another section can squander and waste an enormous amount of wealth at some silly freak show. The two following cuttings, both from the "Daily Chronicle," show clearly who waste the wealth we produce," and how unevenly such wealth is distributed :-

"A letter has been received by the Russian Famine Committee in London from the members of the Famine Committee of the Free Economic Society, one of the oldest institutions of the kind in Russia, appealing for help.

"There has been an almost complete failure of crops (it says) in twenty provinces of Russia, covering the whole region from Nizhny Novgorod to Astrakhan, as well as South Ural and Western Siberia. At least one half of the 40 million inhabitants of those provinces were doomed to starvation, for few of them could hope to find employment in other parts of Russia in the winter

The population have been brought to ruin and despair. Many become insane and commit suicide. Some among the Mohammedans sell their children to harems, that they may not see them suffer and hear them cry for bread.

Typhus and scurvy are rapidly doing their deadly work among them." "Daily Chronicle," 13.5.12.

"The latest freak entertainment was given here to-day at the Hotel Vanderbilt in the shape of a dog banquet. The idea was originated by Mrs. A. L. Holland, the wife of a multi-millionaire, who gave the banquet in honour of her Pekinese dog, and sent out invitations to eight other Pekinese canines of the 'smart set.'

'Without exception the dogs turned up, accompanied by their mistresses, and the nine ladies and nine dogs sat together at a table gorgeously decorated in the Chinese fashion, while a Chinese orchestra rendered weird selections of native music.

"Luncheon was served for the ladies, while special attendants catered for the wants of the principal guests, who had silver basins of bread set before them, followed by cut-up "I am the last person to underrate all these | biscuit and choice morsels of chicken. Only the

"The dinner was voted a great success, and there is a yet greater problem to be dealt with, as a souvenir of the affair each dog guest was presented with a silver collar with his name engraved on it. Nothing like to-day's freak entertainment has been seen since the pony banquet, or the dinner given in honour of Con sul, the intelligent baboon.

June, 1912.

"Daily Chronicle," 18 5.12.

Were there anything like an equal distribution of the world's wealth there would be no difficulty in satisfying the needs of those who were for the time being deprived of the means of life by some failure of crops, or disaster of any kind. It is quite possible that the dividend of the multi-millionaire which provided the dog feast was wrung from the labour of the Russian workers who are suffering, quite unnecessarily, the pange of starvation.

Quite recently the strikers of the Lena gold fields were moved down in hundreds for demanding better conditions, because to grant better conditions to those Russian workmen would mean lower dividends for some cosmopolitan financiers and inferior chicken for their Pekinese pups.

The labour unrest will continue while these conditions are allowed to remain. The demand of labour, the world over, is merely the demand for a living. To quote Jerome K. Jerome, speaking at the Cambridge University Liberal

"The human labourer in 1912 is, after all only demanding what has been acceded to without question in the case of the ox and the ass since prehistoric times. I never heard a farmer suggest that the price of corn being what it is, he is quite unable to give his horse more than half its proper rations. The horse has a very effective way of insisting on his minimum wage. The horse does not go out on strike, he just lies down and dies; and the farmer finds it cheaper -whatever may be the state of the agricultural market—to accede to his demands

Practically speaking, the farm labourer does get his minimum wage. He can't live on 12s. 6d. a week and bring up a wife and six children It can't be done. Charity has to step in and make good the difference. Where the minimum wage is not paid-the wage that enables a man and his family to live-the charitable public has to make good the difference. It is a good thing for the charitable public; it is a good thing for their morals, it is good for their hope of a future reward

But it is bad for the labourer; it turns him into a pauper, it robs him of his self respect. It is bad for the employer; it makes him also no thing else than a pauper, going round to the charitable public, cap in hand, whining, 'Help me to pay my wages. Have pity, kind gentle men, on a poor employer of labour.' It makes the employer also a pauper; and, if it doesn't, it ought to rob him of his self respect."

The employer, as an employer, has no selfrespect. He has but one object-to obtain a profit, to get dividends; and he will struggle to the last to prevent the workers from reducing that profit. Just as the worker, in factory and in field, is but a machine with but one purpose of existence, so the employer, the financier, and the capitalist generally, are sponges absorbing the wealth the worker produces. There is no self-respect in a spenge, just as there should be no desire in a machine. But the worker will not always remain a machine. He will soon want to be a man and to take a man's part in the en joyment, as well as in the production, of the world's wealth. He will, in time, give intelligent purpose to his growing dissatisfaction, and when he does—well, the occupation of the sponge will be gone.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. J. CRESSWICK (Kennington). We do not, by using every point of vantage in the class struggle "support any section of the capitalist class. The organised Socialist forces will be used, not to "perpetuate the present system," but to change it as speedily as possible. Whether a measure would be supported would depend upon the views of the Socialist electorate and its bearing or J.J.S. (Kensington.)—Full address must accompany all

E. J. H. (Philadelphia), F. Goole (Watford), "Constant Reader" (Moss Side), F. S. (Queensland), L. S. (Nottingham). Replies held over. (Moss Side), F. S. (Queensland),

LABOUR FAKIRS UNDER THE LIME-LIGHT.

WHILE looking through the "Socialist Year Book" for a few "facts" I came across the following under the section headed "Labour Party."

" Although the Party has steadfastly declined at its Annual Conferences to make the Confession of Socialism on the part of Trade Unions a condition of affiliation, it has, nevertheless, by large majorities, affirmed its adhesion to Socialist principles. It should be clearly understood, however, that the basic principle of the Labour Party does not consist in the acceptance of Socialist theory, but in the recognition of the identity of the class and political interests of all the workers, and the necessity of the emancipation of Labour from capitalist oppression." (Italics mine.)

Particular care is taken to point out that the Labour Party does not accept the principles of Socialism (not that I would make the mistake of accusing it of ever having done so). Yet it would be interesting to know by what process of reasoning do they "recognise the identity of the class and political interests of all the workers and the necessity of the emancipation of Labour from capitalist oppression," without accepting the principles of Socialism.

We have continually pointed out both in the Socialist Standard and from our platform, that the Labour Party does not stand for working class principles, and is, therefore, not the part of the workers. Nor does it recognise the identity of the "class and political interests of all the workers," as is claimed by the editor of the Socialist Year Book," Mr. J. Bruce Glasier.

As a matter of fact this same Bruce Glasier repudiated the very principles he now gives expression to years ago, and members of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. have steadfastly maintained that attitude all along.

Evidently they believe there is another way

of emancipating the workers than through the institution of Socialism-through Liberalism.

The Labour Party is a good asset to the Liberals, bence the latter's desire to keep them under their wing, so to steak. Whilst the Liberal party may at times be anxious as to the durability of its own existence, yet it has no fear that the Labour Party will withhold its support in the hour of need. For has not the impeccable Philip Snowden said: "The official Labour Party is now indistinguishable from the official Liberals"? ("Labour Leader." 14.6.11.)

Only recently Mr. Snowden has been railing against Tariff Reform- and incidentally blow ing the Free Trade trumpet-obviously for the gratification of the Liberals. By the strange irony of fate the title of his discourse was Some Economic Fallacies." Here are a few of Mr. Snowden's economics:

"'He was perfectly convinced,' he said, 'that the main object of the Tariff Reform agitation was to broaden the basis of taxation so that a larger share of the national revenue should be raised by indirect contributions from the working classes.

Which altogether shows Mr. Snowden's ignorance of economics.

As was shown in an article dealing with the question of Rates and Taxes in a recent issue of this paper, neither under a Free Trade nor a Tariff Reform regime does Labour bear the burden of taxation, either directly or indirectly Under the present system the only share of the wealth produced which the workers enjoy de pends upon the law of wages, and is regulated by the cost of the production of labour power. Consequently "broadening the basis of taxation" will not affect the working-class seeing that they have already been robbed to the fullest extent, namely, of all but that which is essen tial to enable them to reproduce their efficiency. * * *

if it was supported more often by a programme of the Socialist Party would be much easier, and of constructive reform."

Which would not be the fault of the Labour | Socialism much nearer than at present.

"The nationalisation of the railways would be an enormous relief to our manufacturers in their competition with foreigners.'

In other words, as nationalisation will be an enormous relief" to the Liberals (who represent the manufacturing section of the capitalist class) the Labour Party, as a matter of course,

'The abolition of indirect taxation upon food and other necessities would stimulate every useful industry by increasing the spending power of the people. A similar result would follow a reduction of the astounding and immoral expenditure upon armaments.'

As a matter of fact the spending power of the workers would be no greater. Lower the cost of commodities and the price of labour power (itself a commodity) would sink proportionately. Abolish taxation altogether and the fact would still remain that the worker would be forced to sell his commodity for what he could get, which is simply the cost of his subsistence, owing to the competition for jobs.

As for the expenditure upon armaments, according to Snowden's arguments the workers would be millions in pocket providing there had been no increased taxation imposed to meet the Navy estimates. If this is so why did not the Labour Party oppose the Navy estimates? On the authority of Mr. Keir Hardie (at Bradford, 12.3.11) "only one half of the Labour members voted against the Navy estimates. Two voted for them, and all the others stood out to oblige the Liberals"

One can for once agree with Mr. George Lansbury when he says ("Labour Leader 24.3.11): "In the Labour Party a large number of the 42 members know nothing about Socialism. They have always thought about politics from the Liberal standpoint.'

That is extetly the position.

An interesting debate took place recently in Parliament, in which Liberals, Tories, and Labour members took part-albeit it was somewhat confused. The subject under discussion was the industrial unrest and the disappointing tope of the King's Speech. Mr. J. Ramsav Macdonald started the ball rolling by moving an amendment regretting "that having regard to the existing industrial unrest arising from a deplorable insufficiency of wages which has persisted notwithstanding a great expansion of national wealth, and a considerable increase in the cost of living, your Majesty's gracious speech contains no specific mention of legislation securing a minimum living wage and for preventing a continuance of such unequal division of the fruits of industry by the nationalisation of the railways, mines and other monopolies.'

After various contributions to the discussion, such as profit-sharing, nationalisation, minimum wage, and all the resuscitated "remedies," Lord Hugh Cecil (Tory) submitted the following

"If the Opposition could not agree to the remedies proposed by Labour members it was not because they were indifferent to the serrows and sufferings of the working people. Low wages were the result of competition, and the nationalisation of industries would not remove competition but merely shift the arena. People were paid not what they deserved, but they got what the rarety and desirability of what they had to sell would bring them.'

Mr. J. M. Robertson (Board of Trade) "questioned whether the nationalisation of railways would put an end to Labour unrest or would provide more adequate remuneration," pointing out that in countries whose railways were nationalised there was considerable unrest

Thus proving that at bottom the representatives of the master class understand the concmic position of the workers, and that in certain circumstances they are betrayed into giving expression to that knowledge. If the working class only possessed the faculty of interpreting the operation of the economic laws that so vitally affect their existence, in the same degree as does "Free Trade advocacy would be strengthened | the majority of the capitalist class, then the work the advent of the revolutionary change to

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.		9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	M. Scott	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker	J.E. Roe
" " "	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common	3.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson	R. Fox	T. W. Allen
Finsbury Park	3 30	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	H. Joy
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Bartley	A. Jacobs	R. Fox
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11 30	J Le Carte	F. Vickers	R. Fox	F. Vickers
» ,,	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte	A. Kohn
Ilford (station)	7.30	A. Bays	R. Fox	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	C. Parker	F. J. Rourke
,, ,, ,, ,,	7.30	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	A. Bays	R Fox
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. Leigh	R. Fox	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker
Parliament HIII	11.30	E. Fairbrother	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	S. Blake
Peckham Triangle	7.30	H. Joy	S. Blake	F J. Rourke	A. Bays
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	F. J. Rourke	A. Pearson	F. Leigh	T. W. Allen
Tooting Broadway	11.30	D. B. Campbell	A. Barker	S. Blake	E. Fairbrother
"	7.30	S. Blake	A. Jacobs	D. B. Campbell	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs
	7.30	A. Kohn	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Walham Green Church	7.30	S. Elliott	D. B. Campbell	S. Blake	A. Barker
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0	F. Vickers	A. Bays	F. Stearn	C. Parker
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	J. E. Roe	A. Barker	C. Eiliott	F. W. Stearn
Watford Market Place	7.30	A. W. Pearson	F. Leigh	A. Kohn	A. Jacobs:
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill		A.W. Pearson	J. Wray	J. E. Roe	F .Leigh
	7.30	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns	F. Dawkins	R. J. Rourke
MONDAYS.—Islington, I					
WEDNESDAYS.—East	Ham,	The Cock, 8.30.	Plaistow, Greeng	ate, 8. Peckham	Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Hd., 8. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Wimbledon Broadway. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening. HAMSTOW -H. J. Bernian, Sec. 20 Kim

ley-road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8. at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st. WATFORD.-G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitdist or master-class, and the consequent enslavenent of the working-class, by whose labour done wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from he domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and ineir democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the vorking-class is the last class to achieve its freefom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emarcipation of : 11 mankind without listinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of he working-class itself.

▲ That as the machinery of government, includag the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of he wealth taken from the workers, the workinglass must organise consciously and politically or the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, ncluding these forces, may be converted from in instrument of oppression into the agent of mancipation and the overthrow of privilege, cristocratic and plutocratic.

. That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of he working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class enancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action deternined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under ts banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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No. 95. Vol. 8.7

LONDON, JULY 1912.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

WAR AND WHY. THE CÂUSE AND THE REMEDY.

"But what they killed each other for I could not quite make out" says Jasper in one of our school poems.

And some leading lights of the capitalist class have lately been investigating a similar problem by enquiring—or pretending to enquire—into the ill-feeling existing between England and Germany. In considering the "forces that make for Peace" Lord Weardale quotes from Mr. Norman Angell that "it is perhaps neccessary to divert ourselves from those broad ethical principles which the champions of international peace have hitherto used, perhaps too specifically, as their main line of argument, and insist with greater emphasis on the economic considerations." ("Manchester Guardian," 10.6 12.)

Those "broad ethical principles," however, seem to have been having a rather bad time of it. For instance, in the same journal for May 30th appears the following:—

"It seems that Lord Haldane, a few weeks ago, approached the Rural Dean of Willesden with the request that he would ascertain what would be the opinion of his Rurideconal Chapter of an offer to appoint a Church of England chaplain, with certain pay and allowances, in return for each hundred men whom the Church could persuade to enlist. Apparently the offer was well received by the clergy, and the condensed report that I saw of the discussion does not reveal a single dissentient."

Surely the great regard for "economic considerations" shown here by the followers of the "Prince of Peace" should satisfy even Mr. Angell.

But the latter says that wars do not pay; that not even the winner gains by the fight! Against this Mr. T. Lough, M.P., says when describing the animosities between England and Germany:

"A further factor was soon added, in the shape of the interests of the capitalists engaged in the construction of warships and war material. Supported by immense financial resources, this particular branch of industry has taken to inciting international feelings of mistrust and hatred.

"Should international peace be established their orders would fall off and their dividends would disappear."

Mr. Lough, as a wealthy capitalist, should be a better authority than Mr. Angell as to what "pays" and when.

A more general statement is made by Sir Alfred Mond in this discussion.

"In all countries the great world of commerce knows no national bounds and tolerates no interference with its labour by such limitations."

of Capital. Exactly. Winne men of Sales, Chinee or Britisher, all are fish for the capitalist net, and as the wealthy Liberal says, "no interference" is tolerated that hampers

the robbery of the workers, wherever they may happen to have been born.

"The relations between the captains of industry of all countries," continues Mr. Mond, "are getting more friendly every day, and exhibit a growing mutual respect and inclination to coperate on a labour-saving basis." ("Manchester Guardian," 10.6.12.) An awkward admission, this, for the stupid Anarchist who argues against the concentration of capital, and the revisionist of the I.L.P. and Fabian type, who tries to maintain that Marx's analysis was in error.

Even more specific was Professor Ludwig Stein, who says we are to prepare "by means of a deténte between England and Germany, an understanding between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente which would allow us Europeans to act as allies in the work of partition of our planet in the Far East, instead of destroying each other as enemies. There are at present such great things at stake that our little jealousies and political feuds must sink to a quantité négligeable in face of the necessity to assert and secure the Imperialism of our civilisation, the world dominion of our system of culture."

Whose is "our civilisation," "our system of culture"? Not the working-class's for the spokesmen are all representatives of the employers—the capitalist class.

And what a "civilisation" and culture" is their's! One wherefor in growing misery and insecurity

Noting of life for the working class accompanies increasing powers to produce wealth, increasing wealth produced. Paralysing paradox where one sees misery in the midst of plenty and want where wealth abounds.

And this is to be extended to the Far East, for the workers there to enjoy. Should they resist then the "great world of commerce" will tolerate no "such limitations," but will batter down that resistence with the 13.5's, the machine guns, and the magazine rifles.

Ignoramuses like Mr. Norman Angell will talk

about putting aside "broad ethical princples"
—as though they had ever been really concerned
with these—and insisting upon "economic considerations" as though they had ever been absent
or were not the fundamental cause of all
modern wars.

To serve the economic interests of capitalism the war drum will be sounded by the "atheistic" Blatchford and the "religious" rural dean, while the capitalist class control power. The forces of war will be used to crush less—capitalistically—developed nations, or, if necessary, to wipe them out of existence.

But, after all, this is but the secondary use of the fighting forces. "The great world of commerce" will not only not "tolerate" any limitation by nationality; it will not tolerate any limitation by members of the same nation. Inside every nation is a far more important division than that separating nation from nation.

The division between the wealth producers

—the working class—and the wealth
owners—the capitalist class, is one conClass cerning the very means of life themselves.

Line. True, the working class have failed to
understand this yet. But their strikes

understand this yet. But their strikes and struggles over the question of living tends to show them more clearly every day how they are dominated in society.

In the Transport Workers' Strike Committee's

In the Transport Workers' Strike Committee's first manifesto protest was made against the use of soldiers and policemen to accommodate the employers. The "Daily News" for June 15th states that two hundred seamen and firemen belonging to the French Navy were going to man the Atlantic liner "Provence" in place of the men on strike. Sir George White used the military to unship coal at Gibralter when the men went out on strike shortly after the South African War.

This is the fact that explains the utter farce and failure of all the "Peace Conferences" and "Disarmament" movements. The real and primary use of the war forces is to keep the workers a slave class to the employers, to drive strikers back to work, to shoot them down when sacred "property" is in danger, and even to run the services should the capitalists decide it to be necessary.

This force is placed under the control of the

This force is placed under the control of the capitalist class by the working class voting them into possession of political power. The very men on strike to-day in the docks cheer the local capitalist representative, Sir John Bethell, although he is a member of the party in power.

They are backed up in this suicidal stupidity by their "leaders" and the parties they belong to. Tillett and the B.S.P., Gosling and the Labour Party, all act as powerful allies of the capitalist class by encouraging and advising their poor dupes to place political power, with all its accompanying command of the forces of repression and blacklegism, in the hands of the masters.

The Socialist on the other hand, points out and explains the war existing in society—the class war—wherever capitalism has taken root; he shows how the workers place this terrible power in the grasp of their most bitter and pitiless eaemies, and draws the only conclusion open to intelligent men—that is that the workers must conquer political power for themselves, and so wrench from their oppressors once and forever that weapon which is turned against them, no matter whether Liberals or Tories are

what
must be
Done.

missing power, whenever they seek to obtain better conditions. Only then will the cause of wars—class and market—be abolished. Only then will the worker enjoy what he produces, and have comfort, luxury and happiness

London School of Economics & Political Science 2007 Socialist Standard 1912 BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

APHORISM II.

In society there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

We saw, in considering our first aphorism, that society is divided into two classes—a class of sellers of labour-power and a class of buyers of labour-power. This division was seen to arise from the class ownership of the means of lifethose who do not possess being compelled to sell their labour-power to those who do

This sale and purchase of labour power re solves those who possess into non-producers and those who do not possess into producers.

Hence we have in the terms of our second aphorism, a class "who possess but do not produce," and a class "who produce but do not

The proposition is that between these two classes in society there is an antagonism of interests manifesting itself as a class struggle.

The very nature of selling and buying presupposes opposing interests. While sales, in the long run, are exchanges of equal values, individually they are not necessarily so. A given class or grade of goods may at one time be selling above, and at another time below, its value. In these cases the sales are not exchanges of equal values. But eventually the high and the low prices cancel each other, and so the result is arrived at that sales, in the long run, are exchanges of equal values.

The reason, of course, of this fluctuation of prices, is that their adjustment is left to the forces of competition.

It is clear that, since commodities, as such, are insensate, and have no will power to fight their own battles, it is in reality their owners who must stand in opposition to one another. It is they who resist the forces of competition when those forces are against them, and use them to their utmost capacity when they are in

It is only by this continual struggle of buyers and sellers against one another- the former to buy as cheaply as they can, the latter to sell for the highest possible figure—that prices are de-termined. Without this struggle we cannot imagine prices falling when goods are plentiful by comparison with demand, and rising when the reverse condition obtains.

This struggle, presupposed by the competitive exchange of goods which we call buying and selling, can only arise out of opposing and conflicting interests. Therefore the sale presupposes the struggle; the struggle presupposes antagonism of interests.

Without the last, then, we cannot have the first, and where the first (buying and selling) is discovered, there the last (antagenism of interests) must inevitably exist.

So when we show that society is divided into two classes, one of which has no means of livelihood other than selling its labour power to the other, we have no option but to conclude that there is an antagonism of interests between

Let us look at it another way. The struggle is over the possession of the product of the workers' toil. Whatever this product may amount to, and whatever form it may take, this fact concerning it remains constant: the more of it that is taken by the producer the less there remains for the non-producer, and the larger the portion taken by the non producer the smaller must be the amount remaining for the producer.

In such case neither side can prosecute its own interest without detriment to the other, and hence again we find that "in society there is an antagonism of interests between those who posut do not produce and those who prod but do not possess.'

In the case of buyers and sellers of ordinary commodities, that is, of the products of labour. this antagonism of interests cannot manifest itself as a class struggle, because there is no class distinction between buyers and sellers as buyers and sellers. That which draws the class line between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess, is not the fact that the one does not produce and the other does, or that the one buys labour power and the other sells it. It is the fact that the one possesses and the other does not.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

As a matter of fact buyers and sellers cannot be separated into classes as such, for every buyer becomes a seller in his turn. So the an tagonistic interests, in the ordinary commodities market, can only manifest themselves in a series of struggles between individuals or groups of

On the other hand, in the labour market the ouyers and sellers are only such because of the class distinction. There buyers and sellers are classes apart. The seller only becomes a buyer by becoming a possessor and so passing into the other class, and the buyer only becomes a seller by becoming dispossessed and so being precipitated into the propertyless class. And this changing about is comparatively rare in the latter case and extremely rare in the former.

In these circumstances, then, whatever may be the differences between individual workers as competitors for the sale of labour-power, and between individual non-producers as competitors in the purchase of labour-power, the two classes, as long as they exist as such, must always be opposed to each other as buyers and sellers.

The breach between the individuals of the same class may to some extent be closed for it. is largely a superficial breach. It has been said that the more one class takes of the product of labour the less falls to the lot of the other class. This means that class interests must be antagonistic. Between individuals of the same class, no such thing is true. One worker does not necessarily get less because another gets more, nor does the increased share of one capitalist necessarily leave less for another. The capital-ist does not increase his wealth by taking away from his fellow capitalist, but by subtracting from the worker.

The sectional interests, therefore, differ from the class interests in this, that though they are often antagonistic, they are not fundamentally so. The class interests, on the contrary, must inevitably clash.

As further urging the point, it is recognised among both classes that the conflicting interests of sections may be reconciled by substituting combination for competition. Hence we have rings, trusts, combines, n. ergers and associations on the masters' side, and trade unions on the workers' side.

The conflict of sectional interests, then, since these interests are sectional, can only manifest itself as sectional struggles; but the antagonism of class interests must, from its class nature, exhibit itself in the form of a struggle between

This class struggle is not fought out with the same degree of consciousness at all times, for which reason it does not at all times wear the same aspect. In the earlier days of the present system its nature was masked. There did not exist the same clear line of distinction between the two classes. Men were unconscious of the secrets of capitalist production, and therefore could not realise the irreconcilable antagonism of interests between the classes in society.

The reasons for this are many, but they all have one foot upon the same stone: the stage of development of the n.eans and instruments of producing wealth.

Thus these means and instruments had not then reached the giant proportions and stupendous costliness which forbid the worker ever hoping to become a possessor of them and so lifting himself into the class above. Such uprising on the part of individual workers was in the early days of capitalism so common an occurrence as to largely obscure the fact of the existence of a class struggle, and it is quite conceivable that men could not discern a class barrier which was so easily surmounted, or regard as a class apart that circle which was every day being invaded by members of their own class.

Again, there were not such extremes of ric and poverty to impress the incongruity of the wealth distribution on the minds of the victims of a vicious system. The productivity of labour was comparatively low, and for that reason the share taken by the producer and the non-producer respectively was not so glaringly disproportionate as to compel thought.

And still again, the development of the system had not yet reached that level at which it sets the owner of the productive wealth free from any participation in their operation. The rise and development of joint stock companies have had the effect of banishing the owners of the means of production from the arena of production. Their personal command over their productive wealth has given place to personal command over their shares. They are so far removed from production that they cannot possibly be supposed to have a hand in it. But the earlier capitalists, from their closer connection with industrial operations, never appeared to stand in the position of superfluities. Their cooperation seemed to be a necessary part of the productive operation, and therefore the share they took of the product did not appear as surplus value plundered from the workers, but as wealth which the masters had assisted in pro-

These things prevented the working class from realising that they alone were the producers of all wealth, that the capitalist class were entirely parasitic, existing upon the robbery of the workers, and that there was an irreconcilable antagonism of interest between the two classes and therefore a class struggle. So the struggle was fought out without any great conscious direction.

But the development of the means and instruments of production, and the consequent and attendant development of the methods of production, have stripped the capitalist system of most of its secrets. Men cannot let go unchallenged forever a system which accompanies an astounding increase in the productivity of human energy with an appalling increase in the poverty of those who carry on production. Men cannot observe without thinking the growing detachment from industry, the heaping wealth and luxury, the increasing idleness and uselessness, of those who own the means whereby they live. Men cannot witness without rising knowledge of the class division, the strengthening of the barrier which shuts them ever more completely out from the circle of luxury and leisure and comfort which increasingly mock their poverty and insecurity and the bopeless futility of all their weary labour. Men cannot see the forces of competition hurrying all into combinations and organisations, but always, always, organisations and combinations of masters and men apart, of masters and men opposed—men cannot see this without a dawning of light, a conception of the class struggle, a strengthening of class feeling, a creation of class hatred, and the birth and uprising of a new consciousness and principle to guide and direct the class struggle. In other words, the development of the capitalist system itself gathers up all the scattered, inarticulate forces fighting a ragged battle which they only half understand against what they know not, and welds them into a solid army prosecuting ordered warfare for a clear and definite purpose-the industrial development, in short, makes the Socialist and the Socialist movement.

So the class struggle, as time goes on, assumes a different aspect, in strict correspondence with the changing visage of capitalism. When the capitalist class stood as revolutionaries before the capitalist system, their victory was essential to further progress, and therefore was good for the race in the long run. But immediately they had overthrown the reactionary system of the period and established a new system, that system in its turn, and the class who ruled under

it, became reactionary. And as this reactionary character has become more pronounced, as the system and the class have become a greater clog to progress and more fruitful of social injury, so the character of the class struggle has become more revolutionary. While the fight for the possession of the wealth produced under the system is not less bitterly maintained, the class struggle finds its highest expression in the movement for revolution, for the overthrow of the capitalist system of society, with its antagonism of cipation of the working class from thraldom.

This, then, is the true meaning of our state ment that there exists a class struggle in society. It is a struggle to maintain and abolish a social A. E. JACOMB.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

MORE QUESTIONS CONCERNING, OUR TWO FALSE STATEMENTS AND A CO-POSITION.

E. J. Higgins (Philadelphia) asks the following questions arising out of our answers to his questions in our May issue.

(1)-"Wherein is the wideness and advantage for revolutionary purposes of the platform of Parliament? Are you assuming that the capitalist Press would publish your speeches?

(Answer.) We know that the Press to-day is carried on for profit and for profit only; and if anything furthers the sale of their papers they will publish it. We know from past experience how sensational they consider speeches of revolutionists and the prominence they give them, hoping, very often, to frighten the non-Socialist workers by acceptuating the "extreme" nature of the speeches published. But if they were to change their tactics and engage in a conspiracy of silence, we should win all the same. The fact that no reference to Socialist members' speeches appeared would sooner or later raise in the minds of the exploited the question: "Why this silence?" The very silence itself would be eloquent and cause workers to seek for themselves in the proletarian Press the speeches delivered, thus bringing more toilers into our camp. The danger of silence would soon alter our masters' tactics, though, of course, whichever way they turned they would be but marching toward their graves. In fact, by reporting the speeches delivered in opposition to our members they could not help referring to our point

(2) "Do you hold that the State which so long as the workers are disorganised on the industrial field must fulfil its real function as an engine of repression-do you hold that your advance guard' will be able to turn an engine of repression into an engine of emancipation? Will the capitalists let you do this?"

(Answer.) The implication that the repressive functions of the State cease with economic organisation is opposed to history and every-day experience. Organise how and to what extent you like and the repression continues. We claim that the political machinery can be used by the toilers to control the armed forces and thereby give the workers power to enter into the ownership of the land, factories, railways, etc. The point as to whether our masters will allow the toilers to do it begs the question of their power to stop it.

The masters depend upon the political power put into their hands by the votes of the workers, and when the flux of time, with its influence upon the toilers' minds, puts into power the working class through its delegates, then the masters face defeat, for the power over the supplies for and the movements of the armed force; passes into the hands of the working class. You may say that the masters ere this will destroy constitutional government, but when they do that they commit suicide. Under the naked despotism and barbaric rule of governments without a Parliament and a Constitution, the smooth working of trade and commerce is impossible. Mexico is a good example of this.

(3) "Is it your opinion that the capitalists are looking for pretexts to make the State fulfil its function as an engine of repression; that they are concerned with our method of expropriating them and will not bother so long as we are doing the expropriating 'peacefully,' or as the little pope of the S.L.P. would say, in a 'civilised manner '?

(Answer.) Socialism can only come by the consent of the working class, that is, at least a majority of them. If we neglect the present institutions and fly off to "violence" we do provide our masters with arguments whereby they can retain the support of our fellows. By show ing that we refuse to try the Constitutional means first we are branded as "Terrorists" in the minds of the toilers. Thus the coming of Socialism is retarded. If, on the other hand, we are willing to try political action, then the blame is upon our masters should they attempt to repudiate and destroy their own machinery all its forms." Sufficiently pugnacious to "loose of government. Not only do they outrage those the dogs of war" because one woman had been

who sympathise with our aims, but all others of our class as well. Hence - Nemesis!

NUNDRUM

TO THE EDITOR. Nottingham, May 21, 1912.

Sir, -Arising out of your reply to my question in the last issue, there is just one point I should be pleased if you will make clear.

In the article entitled "The Socialist and Trade Unionism" the writer clearly shows that the functions of the political and economic organisations are distinct and separate.

Now according to your Declaration of Principles the S.P.G.B. is a purely political party, since the aim is the expropriation of the capitalist class from political power in order to establish

I should like to know how by merely taking economic action it constitutes it an economic organisation?

The writer of the article you refer to tried to make clear that the functions of the present economic organisations—the trade unions—and the political organisation of the workers - the Socialist Party -are different. That he failed to make this clear is probably due to the fact that he developed what he calls his "style" by studying a burr-walnut piano case in foggy weather. But try and get the sentence with which we explain his intention well soaked in

What you say about our Declaration of Principles seems to indicate that you have been studying it in foggy weather, so there's a pair of you. The aim of the S.P.G.B. is its Object, and its Object is clearly stated above the principles. Do you mind reading it. Mr. Shearstone? Thank you. Now if, as you seem to think, the character of an organisation is determined by its aim or object, have you still the "neck" to say that a party with such an essentially economic object is a "purely" political party

With regard to the question with which you close your communication, you must explain yourself more fully. Since we buried our tame thought-reader we have been rather at a loss in dealing with whydiddles.

THE I.L.P. IN CONFERENCE.

THE report of the I.L.P. Conference of 1912 is introduced with a triumphant leading article, in which we are informed that "not once was there wrangling or discussion." The reason, of course, s not far to seek. Those who would have raised dissension had taken themselves elsewhere. The successful "Labour" M.P.'s have, for the time, got rid of their discontented rivals, who have a ong road to travel for Parliamentary jobs, in their new party, the B.S.P. The Conference was free, as Mr. Keir Hardie put it, to "guide the wavering steps of the working class move ment along the pathway that leads to freedom." The stirring speeches, intense enthusiasm, fervid pleas for freedom, scorching denunciations of diplomats and financiers," were vented ad lib. Such things things tickle the ears of the

The message of the I.L.P. to the workers in 1912 was a re-hash of the old confusion. Mr. P. Snowden contributed his share. "He re-emphasised the revolutionary movement, though he ridiculed the fear of the wealthy classes." revolution," he explained, "is a very common and ordinary thing. Every time a wheel turns round we have a revolution." It would be interesting to know how many I.L.P. revolutions will be necessary before we get Socialism.

Indignant protests were levelled at the Government over the Tom Mann and Malatesta affairs, while the Malecka business was deemed of sufficient importance to necessitate the "threat to break off diplomatic relations between Russia and Great Britain

Having passed a resolution to that effect, they followed it with another against " militarism in imprisoned, they were at the same time "the strongest advocates of peace the world over.'

In the Socialist Standard evidence has been adduced time and again of the compromising tactics of the LLP. Time and again have they themselves admitted that their members' subscriptions would not suffice to contest more than two constituencies. Suffragette capitalist gold and "wise arrangements with the Liberals" we have always said, secures them seats in Parlia ment. It is well to remind the reader of our attitude toward them, and their own admission that "those who pay the piper call the tune." Their discussion and vote on the Bradford resolution confirms all we have said of their sham independence.

That resolution is itself the strongest possible indictment of the Party. It resuscitates the burning question of the "fourth clause," which by their votes they again repudiated. That they should ever discuss, the advisability of "ignoring consequences and voting steadfastly on the merits of every question" is an admission that they have been afraid to do so. Their speeches show what they fear.

Lansbury said: "Every question that comes up for discussion in the House has to be discussed with its probable effect upon the fortune of the Government in mind." Snowden's "fight ing instinct inclined him to support the resolution, but his common sense, judgment, and experience would induce him to vote for the amendment. . . . Politics meant compromise." Keir Hardie tried to reconcile their oft asserted independence with the stern necessity of rejecting the resolution, and wound up with this transparent bluff: "The great test of a party's independence was not in the vote on some trumpery measure before the House, but in the amendments moved to the King's Speech. On every occasion the Labour Party had pressed a Right to Work amendment to a division.

Really, their audacity almost takes one's breath away. This is the great test of their independence: moving amendments to the King's Speech which have no chance of success and would not be moved if they had, and moreover would not improve the lot of the working class if they were successful.

The reforms that have done service so long were brought out once more, shown to be falla cies, and then seriously recommended to the Government, and adopted as planks in their platform. A minimum wage resolution, for instance, was passed, although it was clearly shown that its effect would be keener competition, the selection of the most efficient, the introduction of new machinery and increase of unemployed

Bearing in mind the number of converts the I.L.P. gather from the professional and well-todo "classes," one naturally looks for resolutions on nationalisation, because it extends the Civil Service and finds jobs for would-be aristocrats of Labour and Fabian experts. Mr. Lloyd George quite recently declared nationalisation of mines to be a business proposal. He has the opportu nity of "killing two birds with one stone giving satisfaction to his I.L.P. allies and at the same time doing a good stroke of business for the class he represents, by nationalising land mines, and railways

Similar absurdaties and contradictions could be traced in almost every paragraph of this re port. It requires no deep or profound knowedge. The average man with an average supply of common sense and an inclination to think. could not be led into the Liberal left wing with such palpable rubbish. Any man with common sense would realise that none of the problems of life are to be solved with sentiment; that in the study of Socialism, as with all studies, we only accept what is self evident. The mesmeric influence exercised by I.L.P. leaders merely inflames and excites the minds of their followers. The way to learn Socialism is not by studying capitalist politics and trying to adapt them to working-class needs. To learn Socialism we study Socialism, not something else. Members of the working class have to commence with the elementary lessons - the basic principles of Socialism, before they can understand capitalism and how to get rid of it. These basic principle the I.L.P. use their very utmost endeavours to obscure and hide from the working class. The reason and the moral are equally obvious.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

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All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions fo the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for in therein should be addressed - The Socialis Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standard



THE "REFORM BILL."

After long years of promise the Liberal Party have drawn up a Suffrage Reform Bill. With a long sham fight about "Home Rule" and
"Welsh Disestablishment" in front of them, the measure seems to have had its last and first

Although a majority of the Liberal Members of Parliament have "won" their seats by reason of their sympathy (real or feigned) with "Wo man Suffrage," that proposition is left entirely out of the Bill! Many of the Liberal employer M.P.'s are now opposing female franchise on the ground of "unfitness," calmly ignoring the fact of the millions who are "fit" enough to make huge fortunes for Liberal masters in the factories and mills. But such hypocrisy is in keepwith Liberal traditions!

The fraud of the Bill, though, is plainly shown in its fancy franchise for men. According to Mr. McKenna himself in his introductory speech the total number of males over 21 in the United Kingdom is 12,032,000. The number of voters at present is 7,409,986, and of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions who remain he computes that about half will be entitled to vote.

The measure stipulates for an eight month's residentiai or occupational qualification—that is, you must be at an address from December 25th to August 1st.

If the Liberals were in earnest even about this question of suffrage they could quite easily have given a vote to every man instead of leaving 21 millions out in the cold. The long residential conditions in these days of a drifting working class, make it result that those who, because of deepening destitution, need a voice most are deprived of a vote.

Another typically peculiar Liberal decision is that their Reform Bill only applies to Parliamentary elections, not to those concerning local

The Bill is essentially and undisputably a mere shop window affair. It is drawn up and announced for the specific purpose of enabling its authors, the Liberal party, to win bye-elections. The prevailing "labour unrest" and the only-to-be-expected, but nevertheless dirty and despicable part played therein by the Government, is slowly but surely making many working men to doubt their so-called Liberal friends, and this laiest Liberal fraud is brought in in order to make a fresh show of democracy -and this in spite of the fact that the rich man. in accordance with the capitalist commandment. is always more sure of his vote than is his "poor

The suffrage for women, too, seems to have hope that that will help to keep the fires of con- say, by all means let 'em have it! troversy burning- and perhaps to sufficient effect as to cremate the Bill.

One way or another we are no deeply inter-

ested parties. We know that Socialism includes democracy, and can only come when a majority of the working class voice their will and desire in favour of it. But this Bill does not provide the democracy which is to be such a vital part of Socialism. Already Liberals and Tories alike have spoken about all kinds of amendments making even more fanciful the paltry provisions of the measure. We have seen very often the difference between the first appearance and the final form of Government Bills. The Shop Act was boomed as a sixty hour Bill, but when Liberal and Tory shopowners had completed their dirty work the sixty hour clause was as dead as a "Labour" leader's conscience, and instead it provided that those under eighteen could not be employed more than seventyfour hours a week. Those over that age could be worked as many hours as the profit-grinders desired!

To us as Socialists the vote itself is not the thing. Millions of working men have had the vote for forty years, but lacking knowledge of how to use it in their own interest, they have steadily voted their masters into power; voted the continuance of the system that keeps them

JULY 1, 1912. poor.

We know that there are enough working-class—but voters to day to defeat the capitalist class-but it wants intelligence behind the vote. Our work, therefore, is to convert the workers from supporters of capitalism into fighters for Socialism. And as the vote is extended by our masters, pushed by the development of their system, so, too, our work will still be needed, for the workers, voters and non-voters alike, to-day are against Socialism.

We are not out advocating reform, whether Reform Bills or Adult Suffrage. We want to enlist a membership for Socialism, to build up a party of men and women who realise Socialism to be their only hope. When the Revolutionists are strong enough to elect one of themselves to Parliament, then he will have behind him a solid body of men and women who mean Revolution. He will voice their interests, expose the bunkum bills of the workers' enemies, and drive home the Socialist position upon every question that arises. He will occupy his seat wholly as a fighter for Socialism, and will regard all his activities from the standpoint of their helpfulness to the speeding of Socialism.

Hence, although we are necessarily and without any qualfication democrats, we do not, and never have, and never will, support such swindles upon the working class as the Liberal

NODS TO THE BLIND

On the 15th of the present month that famous scientific scheme of exploitation known as the National Insurance Act will come into operation.

Most of its objections having been "overcome," it only remains to apply the "technical adjustments," then will the much-to-be-envied working class enjoy the fruits of "one of the greatest Socialistic measures that has ever been placed before the House," as one Labour faker bas it.

As to who will ultimately benefit by this "Socialistic" measure, it needs very little analysing to show. It will be the employing class and not the workers. In fact this is admitted, as one will find on reading the daily papers. Here is an instance. At the annual meeting of Messrs. Wilkins, fruit growers and preservers, Tiptree Heath, Essex, held in April, the announcement was made that the firm had decided to pay the whole of the contributions of the workpeople under the National Insurance Act. It was stated that this action would cost the firm £300 a year. but the directors considered they would be well repaid by the increased efficiency of their

Both the I.L.P. and the Labour Party claim credit for having forced this "Socialistic" piece of legislation. If these parties are anxious to take the credit for having helped to impose a been left out of this Government measure in the | fraudulent Act upon the working class, then, I

At the time of writing these notes the trans-

port workers' strike is in a very precarious condition. As one followed the various phases one could not help being struck by the pitiful help-lessness of the whole thing. The sudden order to "down tools"; the hasty joining together of forces; the procession of 100,000 men to demonstrate the "omnipotent power" of the workers; the impassioned harangues of the "leaders"; the negotiation that led to nothing; the intervention of the Government; the stinging rebuff by the masters; the final surrender of the strike leaders by offering to provide a monetary guarantee of their good behaviour if only they were permitted to return to work: all these go to show the utter futility of the versatile tactics of Tillett & Co. So long as the workers both inside and outside of the unions are led by the nose from one position to another and back again, so long will it spell disaster for them. Having regard to the increasing strength of the employers' combinations, it follows that the workers will have to take a clearer and more comprehensive view of their position.

Sir E. Clarke was compelled to admit during the course of the negotiations that, whereas the men had broken agreements on two pointsapparently through a misunderstanding—the masters had deliberately broken agreements on five points, and made a profit out of it!

He might have added that the masters will continue to make agreements, and break them as fast as they are made.

The hostility of the master class is directed against trade unionism, not because of its present ineffective policy, but because of the ultimate possibility of it becoming politically enlightened through the permeation in its ranks of class conscious, revolutionary Socialism. The master class are already class conscious-that is, conscious of the interest of their class-and they will resist to the utmost any encroachment upon their privileges. Hence their fierce endeavour to crush all attempts at working-class organisation. Such attitude is exemplified in a speech made by Dr. Harrison, J.P., at Garstang (5.6.12). In dealing with the Transport Workers strike he is reported to have said

" I would use the police to the utmost limit, and if they were not enough I would employ the armed forces of the Crown to shoot down the peaceful picketers like dogs"!

There is a brutal frankness about it which should not be lost upon the workers. It is not surprising as it is typical of the class whose representative and mouthpiece he is. All the same it is useful in that it helps to point out what the S.P.G.B. has consistently pointed out for years -that there can be no compromise or conciliation between the two classes-that it is war to the death.

Replying to Mr. H. G. Wells aprepos of his article on "What Labour Wants" (quoted "Daily News" 5.6.12.), Mr. John Ward, M.P. remarks: ("I am bound to say that I have never in all my experience met with any evidence of jealcusy on the part of the working classes in reference to the employment (!) of the wealthy. All the elaborate pictures of envy, hatred, and uncharitableness are practically the outcome of the imagination. In their special way the working people get as much pleasure out of life as wealthier classes."

Of course they do! The pleasure is all theirs, John. And believe me, they haven't a bit of thought for the rich. Look what ingratitude they show when the rich come along and offer to share their profits with them, or take them into partnership. It really isn't good enough, John, and I'm glad you've had the courage to speak your mind. Look at the fun they've been having just lately-going on strike, fighting inoffensive bobbies, upsetting the equilibrium of trade, in fact, playing the very devil generally. Of course, its all a part of their pleasure "in their special way." When they are not When they are not having fun of this description I suppose they are busy with motor-cars, their yachting trips, and their racing stables, which they quite overlook the cares and responsibilities that the unfortunate rich are compelled to undergo. You

see, John, the question of what to do with their income is such a serious one, they haven't time to spare a thought for anyone but themselves.

July, 1912.

Selfishness, of course. But the time is coming, John, when the rich will be relieved of "employment" and its consequent anxieties and responsibilities, and given a rest. In fact, I believe the need for them will be abolished altogether. So you can console yourself, John, with the thought that their woes will soon be over. I can assure you they'll get all that's coming to them

An amusing feature of the recent bye-election in the Holmfirth Division was the similarity of the election addresses of the Liberal and the Labour candidates-both standing for practically the same thing. Amusement gives way to disgust, however, when we reflect that the Labour candidate was ostensibly there in the interest of the working class. But experience of this type of political representation only shows that it is the Liberals that they really represent and whose interests they serve.

Some of the items included in the programs were Home Rule, Free Trade, Welsh Disestablishment, no taxes on foodstuffs, Adult Suffrage and Nationalisation of Mines--none of which can affect the worker's position, except, perhaps, to make it worse.

Unfortunately it is still possible to capture a large portion of the working-class vote by the dissemination of this labour-faking rubbish. Spread the light!

Owing to the monopoly by about two companies of the petrol supply of this country the price of petrol has risen 50 per cent. in twelve months, with the result that the small dealers and consumers are in a state of "unrest." Various schemes have been suggested in order to prevent the big robbers from taking too much plunder. The "Autocar" suggests the question of petrol production "is now a matter of national importance and should therefore be undertaken by the nation." The "Daily Mail" (11.6.12) says: "Even if it meant going into production, refining, transport, and distribution is not the great body of motorists rich enough to do this for its own profit?"

The chameleon like "Daily Herald" refers to it editorially as "the latest trend towards Socialism," but to me it seems only to show that when the interests of one section of the buccaneering class are threatened by another, they are prepared to adopt co-operation, nationalisation, or any other proposition providing only that it pays.

In the biography of the late King Edward by Sir Sidney See, just issued, there occurs the following passage:

"King Edward cannot be credited with the greatness that comes of Statesmanship and makes for the moulding of history. Neither the Constitutional checks on his power nor his discursive tastes and training left him much opportunity for influencing political affairs. originating faculty can be assigned to him. For the most part he stood with Constitutional correctness aloof from the political arena at home. On questions involving large principles he held no very definite views. He preferred things to remain as they were. . . . A man of the world be lacked the intellectual equipment of a thinker, and showed on occasion an unwillingness to exert his mental powers."

Yet this is the person whom Blatchford-on the occasion of his eulogy of King Eward VII. ("Clarion" 20.5.10)—had in mind when he said the nation needed a man!

At the recent conference of the Church Socialist League at Bristol a delegate defined Socialism as "the economics of God"! Shade of Marx! I always did think their policy was of the "Ignis fatuus" order!

Father Bernard Vaughan laments that under Socialism "there wouldn't be enough money to go round." The inference, of course, being that under the present beautiful system there is enough to go round. Well, I daresay there is, ut it doesn't go round. It doesn't get the Post Free

chance. The robbers are there first. Hence the priests and other parasites.

F. E. Smith, K.C., in the June number of the Oxford and Cambridge Review," bluntly admits that he has never believed that Tariff Reform would remedy present day evils. Nei-

NOT TAKING ANY, THANKS!

The following, we think, sufficiently explains

MALATESTA RELEASE COMMITTEE. London, W., June 14, 1912.

Dear Comrade,- At a meeting of the above on the 13th inst., it was unanimously agreed that your party should be asked to send a delegate to join and co-operate with us, in order that this committee should be as representative as possible of all those who are in sympathy with the objects of this committee.

We are resolved to carry on this agitation on a wider scale and are assured of the support of prominent men, including M.P.'s and other influential people.

Awaiting your favourable reply, Yours fraternally. (Signed) J. F. TANNER, Hon. Sec.

Mr. J. F. Tanner.

MALATESTA RELEASE COMMITTEE. Sir, Your letter inviting the Socialist Party of Great Britain to send a Delegate to co-operate

with your committee was duly placed before my Executive, who instructed me to inform you that The Socialist Party declines to join with working-class enemies for any purpose whatever, and at therefore your invitation is declined.

Your Mr. Malatesta, if a victim at all, is but victim of the system both he and you do your est to maintain by the spreading of confusion in the minds of the working class. Your whining for mercy, therefore, savours even more of the hypocrite than of the coward, while your 'Demand' for release is grotesque.

That your committee should have entertained he idea (even for a moment) that the Socialist Party could be seduced from its allegiance to the working-class by the glamour of temporarily associating with "prominent men including M.P.'s and other influential people" shows not only how woefully you have miscalculated the moral strength and integrity of the Socialist Party, but also the cant, humbug, and mental debasement of the ultra-revolutionists-the Anchists—the anti-political giants who yet can be got to glory in the prospect of associating with M.P.'s and other influential people."

In the interests of the working class we decline your invitation and say "Down with Anarchy! Long live Socialism!"

On behalf of the Executive of The Socialist Party of Great Britain, C. L. Cox, Gen. Sec. pro. tem.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.F. (Peckham), AT THE

JUNE 1st., 1911. Subject: Should the Working Class Sup-

port the Liberal Party?

JOTTINGS.

Councillor W. C. Anderson, presiding over the I.L.P. conference at Merthyr Tydvil, is reported to have said: "Social justice is not compatible with private ownership of land and industrial

Seeing that capital is the exploiting form of wealth, and that the capitalist is capital personified, I should like to know from Mr. Anderson how that "social justice" he prates of is going to come about by the exploiting form of wealth merely changing ownership and not being abolished. There is "industrial capital" under State ownership (the only form of ownership in which it can exist other than private ownership) in the State railways of various countries Mr. Anderson may have heard of, even if he has never visited. Let him give us an instance where the workers have obtained "social justice," and I will show that his conception of 'social justice" includes exploitation.

Mr. L. Burgess (Bradford) said at the same conference that there was "nothing in the Parliamentary Report of the Party to show that the I.L.P. was a Socialist organisation."

I wonder what Mr. Burgess wanted? Did he want the Parliamentary Report to be by stating something that was not and is not true? For shame, Mr. Burgess!

Mr. George Lansbury passed through a fit of paralysing candour at the I.L.P. conference. He

"When the vote on the Akbar incident was taken the Labour whips were running about scooping their members up for fear anything should happen to the Government. I, for one, have always felt ashamed of the vote I gave on that occasion "

Mr. Lansbury, like the old bird he is in the game of spoof, is wide enough to appreciate the value of the sack-cloth and ashes dodge among such a conglomeration of sentimentalists as the I.L.P. But the old what-d'ver-call-him has the brazen effrontery to call himself a Socialist. which essentially implies internationalism. Then how's this, from the report of the Parliamentary proceedings of May 21st?

Mr. A. Shirley Benn (U, Plymouth) "thought the time had come when the great shipping industry should have one Government department devoting all its attention to maritime affairs. He would like to see every ship flying the British flag manned with British officers.

Mr. Lansbury: "And men."

More sack-cloth and ashes for Mr. Lansbury

The mission of the B.S.P., as outlined in their organ, "Justice," June 1st, 1912, and defined at their recent conference, is "to give political voice and vision to the blind and inarticulate discontent of the workers; to bring their political organisation at least abreast of their industrial, so that they will not continue to rote into power the very men whose class greed they are continually forced to strike against."

The italics are mine.

It was only provisionally, then, that they advised the workers to vote for the Liberals at the St. Rollox and East Northants bye-elections.

According to "Justice" (1.6.12) Mr. H. M. Hyndman, in his presidential address to the B.S.P. conference said ·

"Though the British Socialist Party was a definitely revolutionary organisation, he took it there was not a single delegate there but would hold up both hands and use his best energies to secure forthwith the Free Maintenance of Children, the Cc-operative Organisation of Unemployed Labour, the Minimum Wage in all industries, and the Eight Hours Law, for which LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM, | Socialists have agitated continually for a full generation. Such measures properly used were

Here I might say that to properly use the measures presupposes possession of political power by the working class, which dispenses with their necessity. But the above extract was

uttered on the Saturday morning; hear him now on the Monday evening, as reported by the "Manchester Guardian" (28.5.12.)

"The capitalist parties seemed to have pretty nearly exhausted the possibilities of blundering. There was not a measure before the country from either of the political parties to-day, which if carried into effect to morrow, would benefit the men, women and children of this country to any appreciable degree."

There you are, Hyndman on Saturday and Hyndman on Monday. Which is the Hyndman and which the behindman, eh? Why, me little man, yer pays yer money and yer takes yer chice It's the same H.M.H., only he has such a bad memory.'

Ir has been stated previously by Socialists and is here repeated, that Capitalism knows no national boundaries, that labour is the source of all value, and that to economise in labour-power with as great or greater output is the very acme

of efficiency.

That has been stated by opponents of the existing system of production for profit. Hear now a witness for the defence, an upholder of the present capitalist system. Sir Alfred Mond is the witness, and on the matter of establishing better relations betwixt Germany and England he delivered himself thus in "Nord und Sued"

"In all countries the great world of commerce knows no national bounds and tolerates no interference with its labour by such limitations. The cohesion of the various parts of the business world is more one by industries than by nationalities. The relations between the captains of industry of all countries are getting more friendly every day, and exhibit a growing mutual respect and inclination to co-operate on a labour-saving basis." (Italics mine.)

That phrase "captains of industry" seems familiar-or at least its definition does. It is alluded to by Karl Marx in the XIII. chapter of

"It is not because he is a leader in industry that a man is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property.'

Stand down, Mond, the Socialist case has been well upheld by you.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie in his rectorial address to the Aberdeen University students said Youths should have a decisive voice, if possible, in the selection of their future occupation.

There is another thing he might have advised them to do, viz, choose their own parents. If they, did what large families the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Goulds, and Morgans would have! Why, no poor man could have any children at all, unless some foolish young man chose a labourer on 16s, a week to be his father.

The question of leaders and their actions commented upon and replied to in the last issue of the "S.S." recalls to mind the case of Mr. Havelock Wilson (Seamen's Union). This leader stood as candidate at South Shields byeelection in 1910. He then spoke against the action of the Board of Trade in raising the loadline of British ships and thus imperilling to a greater degree than formerly seamen's lives and permitting an increased tonnage to be carried in the same ships. That was as candidate for Parliament. But the evidence given on June 11th, 1912, before the Commissioner of Wrecks (Lord Mersey) by Mr. A. M. Carlisle was to the effect that Mr. Wilson had signed the report of the Board of Trade Advisory Committee of 1911. This report's recommendations would have involved the "Titanic" carrying even fewer lifeboats than she did. And of such is the kingdom of Labour leaders.

under Lord Mersey was to investigate the circumstances of the loss of the "Titanic" and to fix the responsibility for the disaster. It appears not to be so, however, judging from the following passage, taken from the evidence given

of his commodity. Suppose he goes on June 6th.

Mr. Sanderson (White Star manager): - "I understand that the purpose of this commission is to find out how we are to reduce those risks (i.e., incidental to sea travel) to an absolute

Lord Mersey: -" That is quite true."

All our judicial and semi judicial enquiries are above suspicion of being impartial. The "Titanic" enquiry shows this to great advantage in the following comment of Lord Mersey:

-+:+-

Lord Mersey (to Mr. Harbinson, counsel for third class passengers, who had asked whether the captain in handing in a Marconigram to Mr. Ismay was inviting an expression of opinion as to what the vessel's speed should be):you come to address the Court-if ever you do -I don't know whether we shall ever reach the time to make your speech—you may make such a comment to me, but at present you must confine yourself to facts."

Even the third class passengers' counsel can make a speech commenting upon a steamship director-if there's time!

THE SUMMER OF OUR DISCONTENT.

ONCE again the parasitic pandemonium known as the London Season is with us, and London is overflowing with wealthy and titled savages with their painted and bejewelled squaws. the morning those who are able to shake off the effects of the previous night's debauch may be seen taking a canter in Rotten Row, in order to prepare themselves for the revels of the day and the orgies of the coming night. And so they go on till Ascot, Goodwood, Eton and Harrow, and Henley are past -and then to the

moors to recoup.

All this is so well known to the average working man and woman as to be scarcely worth the mentioning by a Socialist were it not for the fact that the crowding of the great metropolis by these savages veneered and French polished, is an additional source of misery and anxiety to thousands of men, women and children of the working class. While thousands are harder driven, sweated, and over worked in ministering to the whims and fancies of these idle. goodfor-nothings, thousands of others are thrown out of employment throughout the whole of June and July as a result of it.

Notable among the last are the men engaged in the building trade, especially the painters and decorators. Woe betide the luckless skib who finds himself in London after Whitsuntide without a job, for little short of a miracle will save him two months fruitless search. Indeed, these summer months are often worse than the dead of winter for the painter. Thousands of unthinking people are totally at a loss to understand this. Yet the explanation is very

During the early spring the wealthy have been away at their country residences whilst the painter has been busy cleansing and renovating the London haunts of these lice of the social system, and now their return to town makes the painter workless for two months. His only chance is to get away into the country.

But this must be speedily done, or the luck less wight will find himself crowded out.

Unionist or non-unionist it makes no difference. Though he does right to organise to keep up the price of his labour power, all the tradeunion organisation in the world is powerless to create an efficient demand for his commodity. In the words of Mr. Haldane, when deputations from Enfield and Woolwich waited upon him to remind him of the promise he gave before the election that discharges should not take place below a certain minimum: "If the work is not there for you we cannot create it."

Though as a rule the painter is very slow to recognise economic law, he, nevertheless, conforms to it, and seeing there is no demand for Methought the enquiry being held in London his services in London, he betakes himself to where he thinks there is a chance of a job

Suppose he goes to Bournemouth. The trade union rate there is 7½d., but our friend takes

less by reason of the good old Free Trade fact that his cost of living has gone up. For he has his railway fare to pay, and probably two homes to keep. This goes to show that these annual migrations of workers increase the profits of the master class, while the workmen sacrifice their home comforts and at the same time get a lower

If these were the only circumstances in which the painter's wages can be reduced it might pass, but let us look closer and see what reason ne has got to support the capitalist system.

The trade union rate in London is 9d. per hour, but does he get it? Not a bit of it! Everyone in the trade knows that the period in the year over which men are employed has been decreasing for some years until to-day he is a lucky man who gets seven or eight months work in the year. Nominally wages are 9d. Actually they are about $4\frac{1}{2}d$. by reason of the ever-de creasing period of time over which the men are employed. So notorious has this state of things become that when seeking apartments the wives of the men in many instances are compelled to conceal the occupation of their husbands, since to tell the truth would result in refusal of shel-

The machine, in spite of many attempts, has failed to work the havoc in this trade that it bas in many, but where the machine has failed the clock has succeeded. Scamping methods and the insidious inducements held out to the men in charge by the masters, quicken the pace. Preparative work is a thing of the past; pumice, once so prominent in the trade, is now only brought on the job from force of habit, and is seldom used.

Thus it is not necessary for the master class to attack a standard rate of wages in order to reduce wages. This can be done quite as effec-

tively by other means.

One of the saddest features of the whole sad business is the position of the older men. Craftsmen of the old school, their skill, acquired by years of patient toil, is to-day worth as little to them as their indentures are.

For years they jogged along fairly comfortably, until the Taff Vale and Quinn v. Leatham decision, when many of the unions went in for political action. This paved the way to pelf and place for a gang of the vilest traitors that ever worked their nefarious ends on an unsuspecting body of workers. One of the first acts of treach ery perpetrated by these jackals of the capitalist class was their support of the Workmen's Compensation Bill. This rascally measure had the effect of killing two birds with one stone. The masters could not insure the old men and therefore would not employ them, and being so much out of work the veterans soon dropped behind in their contributions, and the unions got rid of

all that the Liberal politicians and their friends the "Labour" men ever intended it should do It lined the pockets of the lawyers, filed to overflowing the coffers of the insurance companies and relieved the employers of their final shred of responsibility, making them more careless than ever of the lives of their wage slaves.

It is sad to reflect, after a century of trade union effort, that the worker is to day in a worse plight, compared with the vast increase in wealth production, than at any period of industrial history. It is sad to reflect that all the valiant fights trade unionism has made, many of them stamped out in blood and tears, have ended in martyrdom, never in victory. The whole course has been movement in a circle. Its only consistency is that of adhering to the principle on which the trade union movement was founded -the principle of acceptance of and acquiescence in the present social system.

Emancipation lies not this way. When the men of the painting trade realise their position in society, as portion of a subject class whose interest is opposed at all points to that of the master class, they will organise along with their fellows upon the political field, in the Socialist Party-the only party that stands for human emancipation.

there is little certainty about it, as he finds to third and final form in which the principle of his cost. Hence he is forced to lower the price | subjection can be enshrined and only when the working class are organised to this end can they be said to be in a position to labour for their emancipation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

July, 1912.

WE OPPOSE SWEET REASON TO GORLE AND WORMWOOD.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Watford, May 14th, 1912. SIR, - I read with amusement the crude, ill-mannered observations under the above heading in your last issue. It would be hopeless to attempt to reason with the self-satisfied person who wrote them. I only write to give those of your readers who have a sense of justice and an ear for reason an opportunity of appreciating what your "activities" represent.

The statement that in Watford "every year as these elections come round a new organisation (sic) is brought into being " is not true.

The statement that "the first thing done by the B.S.P. was to allow its secretary and another member to be run by an organisation that did not ask what political opinion any of the candidates held" is silly deceit. The organisation in question is the Trades and Labour Council. The candidates were run jointly by it and the local branches of the B.S.P.

The statement that the above Council consists of "men of all other shades of political faith except Socialists" is a wilful and pitiful lie. The writer of the notes knows that many active Socialists are of it, and he knows also that their electoral contests are run on strictly class lines. Despite all his vituperative abuse he admits that the capitalists brought candidates out against us and "beat this mob who would drag the cause of the workers in the mire." For cant and concentrated piffle the last phrase would be difficult to beat.

The statement that "Socialism was never mentioned in their addresses, never put forward at one of their meetings," is absurd. A more bare-faced calumny has surely never appeared even in your columns. Socialism was put forward at all the meetings and in the addresses of the avowed Socialist candidates, and though the fourth candidate did not call himself a Socialist, his address and his speeches were Socialist in tone and in effect.

Your Watford Pharisee goes on: "No, advocating Socialism is the work of Socialists and only those. That is why it was left for us to We did it, and in doing it exposed these freaks and popularity seekers, much to their Your correspondent is in error. Those of us who considered the "exposure" at all were sorry for its perpetration and nothing

We were opposed by the capitalists, as he himself points out, and yet he and his friends can find nothing better to do than to help the capitalists by telling lies about and throwing mud at us. That is how they "advocate" Socialism and actually, in so far as they have any influence, hinder Socialism.

Imagine the idiocy of thinking you are advo-

cating Socialism by referring to these, whom the capitalist class recognise as Socialists and do all they can to keep off Councils, etc.; who are in touch with, and members of, the working class organisations; imagine, I say, the folly of describing such as a "mob," "freaks," and "popularity seekers.'

Having had a longer and more active experience of public life than any member of your Watford Branch, I can assure them that they are quite welcome to all the popularity any of my comrades or myself have got or are likely to get.

Really, Sir, such utterances as those of your correspondent can only be paralleled by the drivel poured out by the Anti-Socialist Union lecturers. All of which drives me to one of two conclusions. These two conclusions are that you are either consciously or unconsciously working for the capitalist class.

It is beside the question to say that our methods are wrong, to call us a mob, freaks, and popularity seekers. We are in and of the trade unions against the employing class on the industrial plane. We are against the capilalist class on the electoral plane. We are for the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of Social-Democracy. If, then, you are against us you are for the capitalist class.

Consciously or unconsciously you are blacklegging for the capitalists against Socialism. Yours truly,

FRID. H. GORLE

The above letter well illustrates Mr. Gorle's anarchistic methods. Neither the B.S.P. nor any of the organisations concerned in the late election has authorised him to write it. He charges us with making false statements, and makes some complimentary remarks about us. The latter need not be dealt with.

As Mr. Gorle has not brought forward any evidence to rebut our statements we can only assume he is following the example of the lawver who endorsed counsel's brief: "No case abuse opponent." Lest Mr. Gorle should want to use the same retort to us re our use of the words "mob" and "freak," we would refer him to the "Century Dictionary," where he will find the word "mob" (Latin-for our critic's benefit-mobile rulgus) defined as "a promiscuous aggregation of people; an incoherent crowd, and "freak" as "a curious result of real or apparent vagary." The multifarious bodies which support (or are run by) Mr. Gorle are very much of an incoherent crowd, as is manifested by a perusal of the various election leaflets they have issued from time to time; and the results of their actions cannot fail to appear freakish to class conscious workers.

Mr. Gorle says our statement that "every year as these elections come round a new organisation is brought into being" is not true. He gives no evidence, so we will.

Mr. Gorle became Councillor Gorle in April, 1905. Before that period there had been formed in Watford no fewer than seven organisations claiming to represent the workers independently of the avowed capitalist organisations. He was supported at his election by one of these organisations. In 1906 four candidates of the same brand were run and backed by five organisations (including one resurrected - the S.D.F.). At the general election for the same year the Socialist ?) and Labour Party was first and last heard of: issued a manifesto, and then died. In 1907, owing to the apathy of the other organisations (which were supposed to be alive) the S.D.F. and two other organisations ran four candidates but not on the same election address. In 1908 two candidates (including Mr. Gorle) were backed by the Trades and Labour Council, with the support of other organisations being claimed although those organisations were not named In 1909 three candidates were run by five organisations, including another new one - the Wat ford Socialist (!) Society. In 1910 one candidate was run- a member of the S.D.P. (another new organisation previously known as the S.D.F. which apparently discarded its old name when changing the object of the party). In 1911 three candidates, all members of the same organisation, ran on different programmes. They were supported by three organisations, one the W.S.S., which had been resurrected for that purpose. (The secretary had stated that he had been trying to get a quorum for some while in order to wind up affairs.) During 1911 a branch of the S.D.P. was formed, according to its most prominent member, as a protest against the actions of the W.S.S. The Executive of the S.D.P. only sanctioned the formation of this branch subject to the consent of the W.S.S. whose secretary had been quorum hunting in order to put up the shutters. (See "S.D.P. News," August, 1911.) In 1912 four candidates were run, two of the B.S.P. (another new organisation), one I.L.P., and one Labour, and they

were all supported by the same organisations. So we have had during the last twelve years eleven different organisations (manipulated in the main by Gorle and Co.), excluding various resurrections which would bring the number up to fourteen.

So much for our critic's first charge of false statement.

The charge of "silly deceit" can be dealt with by giving a quotation from a leaflet sent out by the Trades and Labour Council and signed by their secretary. Speaking on religion and politics it states: "No declaration of their opinions on these subjects is asked of our nominees, whom we support because we are convinced of their suitability for the positions to which they seek election." This quotation also disproves the statement that they fight elections "on class lines."

With regard to the "Active Socialists" of the T. & L.C., we know them. Some of them have as much claim to be called Socialists as have Sir William Bull or Councillor F. H. Gorle; others are neither active nor Socialists, or the would cease to be parties to such business as is shown in our report and this note.

As to Socialism being put forward in the addresses, the word is not mentioned on the B.S.P. man's address, and no Socialist position is laid down. On the I.L.P. men ber's address the word appears once—"I maintain that the ethics of Socialism are identical with those of Christianity." No Socialist position is put forward whatever. With regard to the Labour candidates address, which Mr. Gorle describes as Socialist in tone and effect, we would point out that the avowed capitalist candidate ran on a similar list of so-called reforms; therefore it would appear (according to Mr. Gorle) that the capitalist candidate's address was Socialist in tone and effect. Our critic, in his remark, strange as it may seem, appears to agree "in tone and effect" with our statement that there is no difference from the worker's point of view between the alleged Labour and the avowed capitalist candidates. (Were you not rather hasty, Mr. Gorle, when you penned that remark as to tone and effect?) As to our opponent's statement about bare-faced calumny, we would remind him that truth is not calumny although it may be libel.

Their methods were nothing but popularity seeking by vote-catching devices, and for the office of councillor. The one reference to Social ism (!) and Christianity quoted above speaks

We know it is considered blasphemous to speak disrespectfully of the god of the Christians, but the god of the Watford Labour Church and other similar local movements (Mr. Gorle) considers it ill mannered for us to speak the truth about him.

If anyone still doubts the truth of our statements, let him apply to the secretary of the Watford Branch of the S.P.G.B. We have documents issued by Gorle & Co. to back up all our statements.

With reference to Mr. Gorle's final chargethat we are blacklegging for the capitalists against Socidism, would be have the courage to make that charge against the S.P.G.B. in a BRANCH REPORTER.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).

'The Star of the East" (Melbourne). "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).

"Freedom" (London).

RECEIVED.

The Trial and Imprisonment of J. W. Gott for Blasphemy," by Ernest Pack. Bradford: Freethought Socialist Society. 1s.

An Introduction to English Industrial History," by H. ALISOPP. London: G. Bell & Sons. 28.

A Central Economic Class is being held on Friday evenings at 8.30 at the Head Office, 10

ILFORD BRANCH S.P.G.B

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

Will be continued throughout the year EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

ILFORD STATION.

ALSO ON THURSDAY EVENINGS

AT SAME SPOT.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JULY.

,		(LONDON I	DISTRICT.)		
SUNDAYS.		7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	S. Elliott	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker	J E. Roe
, , , ,	7.30	A. Hoskyns	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common	3.30	A. Heskyns	T. W. Allen	H. loy	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30	A. Jacobs	A. W. Pearson	R. Fox	T. W. Allen
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	H. Joy
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30	A. Jacobs	A. Bartley	A. Jacobs	R. Fox
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11 30	A. Kohn	F. Vickers	R. Fox	F. Vickers
L	7.30	F. Vickers	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte	A. Kohn
Ilford (station)	7.30	C. Parker	R. Fox	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	E. Fairbrother	A. Hoskyns	C. Parker	F. J. Rourke
The second of the second secon	7.30	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	A. Bays	R Fox
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	T. W. Allen	R Fox	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker
Parliament Hill	11.30	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	S. Blake
Peckham Triangle	7.30	A. Kohn	S. Blake	F. J. Rourke	A. Bays
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	H. Joy	A. Pearson	F. Leigh	T. W. Allen
	11.30	R. Fox	A. Barker	S. Blake	E. Fairbrother
Tooting Broadway	7.30	H. Joy	A. Jacobs	D. B. Campbell	H. Joy
Tatanham West Green Con		A. W. Pearson	F. J. Rourke	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30	T. W. Alllen	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Walham Green Church		R. Fox	D. B. Campbell	S. Blake	A. Barker
	7.30	A.W. Pearson	A. Bays	F. Stearn	C. Parker
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0		A. Barker	C. Elliott	F. W. Stearn
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	D. B. Campbell	F. Leigh	A. Kohn	A. Jacobs
Watford Market Place	7.30	A. Bays		I. E. Roe	F. Leigh
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	C. Ginger	J. Wray	F. Dawkins	R. J. Rourke
"	7.30	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	r. Dawkins	IV. J. IVOUINE
MONDAYS Islington, F	lighbury	Cnr. 8.30.	1000 H		

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Plaistow, Greengate, 8. Peckham Triangle 8.30. THURSDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8.Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Wimbledon Broadway. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30

PRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

BATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh Honse, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.-Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD .- R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd, Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m. EAST HAM .- Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8,30 p.m.

EDM(NTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.-J. Williams, Sec., 25, De Morgan Road, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Wal-

GRAVESEND.-Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Melton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Ed. Lock, Sec., 97. Thorold-road, Ilford. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. All communicat cations to secretary

ISLINGT (IN.--S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed, at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N. MANCHESTER .- J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st.,

Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Mondays at 8. Public invited. MARYLEBONF. A. Kohn, Sec. 24, Carburton-sreet,

W. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 6.3c, at 6, Nutfore-pl., Edgware-rd. PADDINGTO .- Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., atp.m. at 381 Harrow

Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM .- W. Wren, Secry, 91, Evelina-road Nunhead. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.-Communications to Secy. Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 81. Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.

TOOTING.—W. Thomas, Sec., 48, Salterford Road Tooting Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction. TOTTENHAM.-F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd.,

Tottenham. Kooms open every evening. WALTHAMSTOW.-H. J. Bernian, Sec., 30, Kimber- Price 4d. ley-road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8. at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.-G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—Communications to A. F. B. Guiver, 3, Chargeable Lane, West Ham. Branch meets altn. Mon. 7.30, at Boleyn Diving Rooms,

WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

WOF THING.—G. Stoner, sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets altern-Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.

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Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT

BRITAIN

ment of the working-class, by whose labour

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not oroduce, and those who produce but do not

he domination of the master-class, by the conrersion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and sheir democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the vorking-class is the last class to achieve its freetom, the emancipation of the working-class will nvolve the eman. ipation of all mankind without

That this emancipation must be the work of

• That as the machinery of government, includag the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of he wealth taken from the workers, the workinglass must organise consciously and politically or the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, ncluding these forces, may be converted from in instrument of oppression into the agent of mancipation and the overthrow of privilege, ristocratic and plutocratic.

ression of class interests, and as the interest of he working-class is diametrically opposed to he interests of all sections of the master-class, he party seeking working-class enancipation

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Printed by A. JACOMB, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and Published at 1 Sandland Street, London

That society as at present constituted is pased upon the ownership of the means of living i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitlist or master-class, and the consequent enslavealone wealth is produced.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from

listinction of race or sex.

he working-class itself.

. That as all political parties are but the exnust be hostile to every other party.

ore, enters the field of political action deternined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the orking-class of this country to muster under is banner to the end that a speedy termination hav be wrought to the system which deprives bem of the fruits of their labour, and that overty may give place to comfort, privilege to

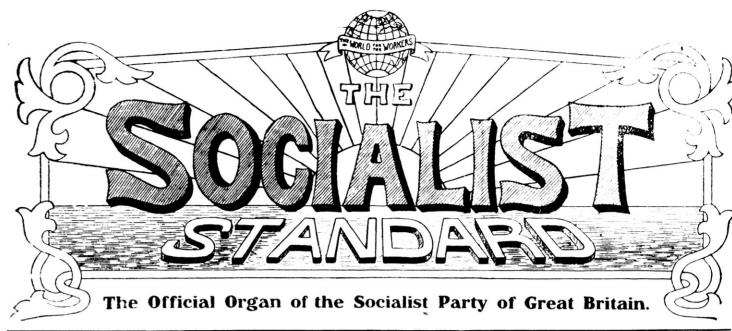
Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS ARE HELD

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.,

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."



No. 96. Vol. 8.

LONDON, AUGUST 1912.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

PERU AND ENGLAND. A COMPARISON.

THE world has lately been startled by the publication of sensational reports of the methods by which a British rubber company, operating in Peru, obtains its rubber.

The nauseating details which have found their way into the papers do not by any means exhaust the catalogue of atrocities inflicted upon the company's Indian victims, or sap the infinite variety of the tortures used to terrorise these poor people into superhuman exertion in the collection of rubber; nor do those widely publised details touch the limits of ferocity laid bare in the Government Blue-Book.

This, however, is not meant in the sense of the degree of physical suffering involved, for it is inconceivable that the agonies of roasting the feet over a slow fire (as quoted by the newspapers) can be transcended, even where the torturers go the length of smashing up a man's organs with a stick, or inserting burning brands in a woman's body in a part which even a Blue Book only dares hint at. But these details which the British Press even cannot lift the veil on, add to all the other horrors some inkling of the filthy-mindedness that goes hand-in-hand with British capital, to win dividends for British Christians and the like.

It is not the purpose here, however, to treat the public to a recital of the sickening story of mutilation and murder reported by Consul-General Casement, but to direct attention to horrors no whit less sickening which are mere everyday affairs much nearer home than the forest glades of Peru. Those who are so startled and shocked to find that the inhumanities which make the names of the old-time Spanish "conquerors" stink in the nostrile, still survive in British capitalism; those who are horrified to discover that the tale of the Congo has been rewritten with but varied detail in the solitude of Western forests, those who have observed with pained surprise, the agonised convulsions of a harmless and innocent people being done to death in Southern America, transforming themselves into the sensational throbbing of rubber shares in Throgmorton Street at the time of the great "rubber boom," do not need to throw their imagination half way round the world in order to find something to move their "bowels of compassion" or stir their righteous-very

righteous-indignation. As a matter of fact murder and brutalitylike charity, according to the account of those who know all about it-begin at home. Not only, mark you, the murder of the Puruvian Indians, whose doom is pronounced in the London board rooms by silk-hatted directors and cosmopolitan financiers. We do not have to turn to the diocese of the Bishop of the Falkland Islands (who is now in England trying to raise funds to further the interests of British capital in Peru and the vicinity, instead of being in

his diocese supervising the decent burial of the corpses British capital is providing there), one dces not, I say, have to go to that Bishep's diocese to find matter for "thrills" and "shocks."

No, there is not one of the atrocities related in Blue Book Cd. 6266 that cannot be paralleled in the dicese of the Bishop of London, or in the diocese of any other English Bishop. There is not one page of this voluminous report, reeking with bloody tragedy, that might not bave been made to carry as tragic and as bloody an inscription by any faithful hand that should have set itself the task of chronicling the history of any single day in any of the great manufacturing towns of highly civilised, free and Christain

Capitalism is very much the same thing in all its operations and in its every sphere of influence. What is good or evil under it is determined only but its result upon profits- by its effect upon ruling interests. Capital, as Marx says, comes into the world dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt. And one Dunning many years ago wrote :-

"With adequate profit, capital is very bold A certain 10 per cent. will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent., positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring profit, it will freely encourage both."

So outrage is inherent in the system-nay, that is but half stating the case: outrage is the foundation and corner-stone of the system. The great primal outrage is the seizure by those who rule under the system, of every means by which men might support themselves in any form of independence. Upon that great, tragic outrage—the closing of every avenue of life against the worker, the whole system of robbery, violence and violation rests. And that robbery, that violence, that violation, is as complete, cruel, and shameful here in England as anything Consul-General (asement travelled so far to put on record.

Violation of Indian girls! It is common enough in any factory district in England for girls to have to submit to the bestial attentions of their foremen and male overlookers. They have to choose between that and starvation. It not interfere (as has been admitted) because it smooths the way to prostitution, which is the necessary adjunct to the low wages paid by the factory masters. It is a fact also well known and confessed by our legislators, as is proven by the provision made for its interdiction in a projected

In offices things are much the same, and in large drapery establishments every "encouragement" (such as locking the girls out in the street all night if they are not in by a specified time) is held out for their girl assistants to resort to certain means of augmenting their scanty

Notwithstanding that the method is different the violation at home is as brutal and shameful as that in Peru. In the latter case the weapon made use of is physical force: in the former, starvation In the one case the tormentor has possession of the woman's body, in the other case of her means of livelihood. The compulsion is pretty complete in both cases.

We n ust not allow ourselves to be led astray by the old capitalist defence that "this is a free country." The freedom of these girls to leave their employment is merely the freedom to starve. That is the freedom which belongs to every wage-slave. It is the freedom which followed naturally upon the enclosure of all land and the seizure of all the means of living. The capitalist has no need to hunt the forests of this country for workers: he has shut them out of the fields and forests, and left them only the freedom to starve. This freedom the capitalist would not interfere with if he could. It is the greatest asset be has. The slave has not got it, hence the slave must be fed, cannot be trusted with delicate machinery, cannot be speeded up to the requirements of the modern factory system. The lash never has been able to compel anything but the quality of labour most nearly approaching that abstract conception, the "purely physical"-it cannot induce the exercise of gumption." Only when the workers are free to starve, and liable to be thrown out on the street to do it, do they become fit and proper instruments for the economical manipulation of the modern machinery for producing commo-

Hence the masters cherish the workers' freedom to starve even more than do the workers themserves. It is the basis of all their exploitation, their standby in every difficult situation.

And similarly it is the basis of the whole awful position of the workers. Because this freedom is their only alternative, they present themselves for sale in the labour market. Because they have only the freedom to starve they face death in the mine and torment before the battle-ship's furnaces. They give up their whole lives to unrewarded drudgery in sordid is a fact well known to the employers, who do and bestial conditions, submitting to the vilest prostitution of their labour in the performance of slave tasks, all because they may starve i they don't.

And at every turn they are offered the same alternative by which it is pretended the women may save themselves from violation, but which, nevertheless, cannot save any workingman from handing over his body, nay, his life, to exploitation, cannot afford one of them escape from a prostitution as vile (if we could only see it thro' the unaccustomed eyes of the savage) as any that women are subjected to through their sex.

The other atrocities reported from the rubber districts all have their parallels in any capitalist country. The police brutality at Liverpool and Manchester and year ago, when scores of people of both sexes and all ages were maimed for life; the murders at Tonypandy, Belfast, and other places, the kicking of pregnant women quite recently at Canning Town, show very plainly that when it comes to dealing with resistance to their plundering, the master class know not the slightest difference between the Indians of Peru and the working class of England. Rubber is not more bloodstained than coals. Dying Indians are not more contemptuously thrown into the bush to expire than are our miners bricked up in the blazing pits to burn. The Waste of Indian life is no more extravagant than that of shunters on British railways, and callous brutalily cannot anywhere outdo that displayed in certain capitalist hospitals, where healthy working-class children are innoculated with filthy diseases and reduced to noisome masses of corruption-because they are cheaper than calves. And where, in the whole of the Consul-General's report, can a more stupendous crime, a more ghastly butchery, be found recorded than has been recently witnessed in the streets of London, where the shipping masters have deliberately set themselves to crush a hundred thousand men into submission by starving their wives and children?

Let us be clear in our comparison. Let us get the true perspective. The Indians, the evidence in the report tells us, are so used to being flogged that they do not so much mind it. Let us make sure that our familiarity with the brutality of our daily existence does not blind us to its real horror. The Indians, while they have their forests, have to be hunted and captured. This, as we understand it, is illegel. But generations ago the workers of this country were captured by de priving them of their means of living. Hence if they won't submit to the masters' terms they are legally free to starve. It is this illusive difference in the aspect of the cases which blinds us to their essential similarity. Under the cloak of legality the workers of the whole civilised world are enslaved and starved and bludgeoned and raped to satiate the lusts of a parasite class, and when we see our own condition reflected in a savage race, and only revealed because the savage, having his means of livelihood in his native wildwood, has to be exploited by "illegal" means, we are astonished and shocked

The only remedy, both for ourselves and for the Indian, is to take away from the capitalists the means of life and make them the property of the community, first capturing the political power by which they hold their sway. A. E. JACOMB.

THE NEED FOR ORGANISATION.

Ourside the Socialist Party there are undoubtedly very many men and women who, while agreeing with the fundamental principles upon which the Party is based, yet, for one reason or another, cannot see their way to come inside and help within the organisation itself. Some, it may be. remain aloof owing to reasons of caution with regard to their position as as wage workers; although, for that matter the present writer does not see why any man or woman, however fearful he or she may be in this respect, should not be able using every discretion in word and deed in outside affairs-to join with us to help in the internal business so necessary in the strengthening and building up of the Party. Apart altogether from the joy of knowing that any assistance, however small, is invaluable in the great work in which we are engaged, there is also the question of the value to the individual of having a medium whereby the interchange of ideas on the problems of life now confronting the workers can be made, as well as the closer of friendly discussion and debate, all of which, it is obvious, must have a great and far-reaching

But there are many workers who, while theoretically agreeing with the aims and methods of the Socialist Party, yet refuse—even when they have no reason to fear economic disaster by so doing-to take a practical interest in, or to enroll themselves within the ranks of, organised Socialism. Often there seems to be an idea-an entirely erroneous idea in the writer's estimation -that as capitalism (or at least the present phase of capitalism) appears to be drawing to a close, the next step must inevitably be the establishment of Socialism in its stead. There is. therefore, no need, so it is considered, to do anything more than sit with folded hands, waiting for the downfall of capitalist society and the

The outcome of this fatalistic attitude, if adopted in all spheres of life, would be the stultification of life itself. Why not wait for manna and quails to come down from heaven instead of going out every day—as at present—to work for a wage?

springing up, full-armed, of the new system of

It does not actually follow that Socialism will be the outcome of present-day capitalist society. If you have a discontented people, poverty-stricken, degraded by continual toil and suffering into mere human machines, ripe for any change from their present existence of physical and mental penury, you have within that people all the possibilities, not so much of an elevation to a higher type, but rather toward an atavism even more degrading physically, more destructive intellectually, than at present.

The essential thing is, of course, that there should be implanted in the minds of the workers knowledge of the fact that their position as workers must be altered from the present state of slavery to a state wherein they shall be free to order their lives as they may best determine. But this knowledge once having been attained, it then becomes quite as necessary to know how to live. After all, life is not only the eating of good food, the wearing of good clothes, the sheltering in good houses, with a minimum of work and a maximum of leigure All these things are, or should be, simply the means to an end in themselves.

At the present day the power possessed by members of the working class to express their individuality in art, or science, or literature, or even in the matter of everyday affairs, is almost The scholastic education now given is one that has for its object simply the development of the faculties necessary in a wage-slave. To teach docility and obedience, to impress the capitalist slave morality upon the rising generation of working class men and women : these are the aims of the scholastic and religious teachers. Something is wanted to counteract this. The working class requires, perhaps more than anything else, self-confidence, self-knowledge self control. From this point of view the close binding together of the workers in a specific organisation is of the utmost importance Meeting as they would on common ground, all dominated by the fundamental idea of economic freedom, it would be possible to tackle every problem of life in the light of the Socialist philosophy. Each individual, necessarily differing in temperament and taste from his fellows, and also to an extent as a social unit, would b able to contribute whatever knowledge he might possess on any question, whether of economics politics or science, or on such subjects as art and literature. There should be then developed a degree of intellectuality which, it must be admitted, is largely lacking among the working class to-day.

There is a danger of our developing into beings whose sole idea is how to lessen hours of labour, how to obtain better conditions of life, and not much more. Something more than this however, is needed. We have to keep in mind that we are to be the dominant-indeed, the only-force in the next stage of society. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should cultivate such faculties as will enable us. when Socialism does arrive, not only to organise the necessary work of society (i.e., the production and distribution of the necessaries and comforts of life) but also to give to our own generation at the time, as well as to leave behind us for the coming generations, at least an advance on whatever culture the past generations have given us, however small that amount of

culture may be.

But if we are to be in a position to do this we must even now not fail to develop within our ranks as high an intellectuality as is conceivably possible. It is useless, as we know, to expect any help from capitalism in such a task, so it follows that this intellectual emancipation -as well as the economic emancipation, -must be the work of the working class itself.

So it can be seen that the necessity of organisation becomes doubly imperative Firstly, in order to build up a body of men and women whose main idea shall be the ending of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth. Secondly, that the men and women thus organised may have the opportunity of keeping themselves in touch with every phase of life, thus forming, indeed, an educational centre in the real meaning of the word edu-

This economic and intellectual emancipation can only become possible through the driving force possessed by men and women bound to gether by the fundamental principles that lie at the root of the Socialist philosophy.

Individually, no two human beings will have exactly the same outlook on life. But the basic idea underlying all individual differences must be the knowledge that only through the harmonious relation of every social unit to every other social unit can the human race advance beyond what it is to day.

In conclusion, the writer would appeal to all men and women in sympathy with the aims and methods of the Socialist Party to join in the fight against the powers of inertion and decadence and in our equally strenuous fight for Socialism and the upward movement of life, remembering that a little active help is worth a great deal of passive sympathy.

CORRESPONDENCE

F. S. (Queensland) —As all the laws, including "eminent domain," are accepted, or made, and enforced by the capitalist class through their control of interest of the capitalist class (either as a whole or the majority thereof) they will be quite prepared to take over any industry from its particu

lar owners and run it to suit themselves.

This has been shown in the case of the Post

Office and Telephones.

Probably compensation would be paid, though this is only distributing the burden on the whole class, by way of taxation, instead of letting it fall on the particular capitalist.

Probably most of the anxiety on the part of many scientists to deny the term "materialist applied to themselves is due to snobbishness and conceit. A "materialist" is usually looked upon as a "vulgar" or "low class" person, or something worse. Hence the haste of the scientist, who wishes to stand well with "society," to repudiate any suggestion that he is a materialist. Hence also the hair-splitting and attempts to find infini-tesimal shades of difference in the descriptions of what are at base the same set of facts.

When to this is added the fact that many of them depend directly upon the capitalist class for their living, it will be easily understood that they do not care to offend their employers. J. F.

W. WARD (Watford).—Our declaration of principles embodies the minimum points on which the Socialists can unite. The class struggle in society so clearly recognised in our principles is repudiated by the actions of the B.S.P. Realising that the nterests of the Liberal and Tory sections of the master class are opposed to those of the working class, Socialists can never ally themselves with or support those parties, but must ever oppose them. the advice given by the B.S.P. to the workers during the St. Rollox and S. Hackney bye-elections, urging them to vote for the Tory party? You say the BS.P. is opposed to compromise, but their actions belie you. You say they believe in getting Socialism "in portions, which in due course me mean the whole," showing again that they do not accept the class struggle as their guiding principle, for Socialists know that the masters' interests being opposed to ours, they will not give us Socialism "in bits." Socialism will be established by the working class when they control political power, Our work then is to convert the workers to the Socialist policy. Those who delay that conversion by leading the workers into the masters' camp must be opposed. The "unity" of jingoes like Blatchford and Hyndman, Liberal vote-catchers like H. Quelch and Thorne, and Syndicalists like Leonard Hall, is not Socialist unity but Anarch-

T. SAWYER (Balham) and E. J. HIGGINS (Philadelphia) -Next month.

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM.

August, 1912.

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

APHORISM III.

The antagonism of interests between the classes in society can only be abolished by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

The arguments which were used to support the previous aphorisms really left little to be said to establish this. It having been shown that the antagonism of interests arises from the ownership by the master-class of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, it follows that until those means and instruments cease to be possessed by the master class the antagonism of interests must continue

So long as the means of life belong to a class that class must be in a position of privilege; and its interests as such must necessarily be different from and in opposition to the interests of the class who are without privilege. The reason for this is because the privilege is based upon the possession of something which is

vitally necessary to the latter class.

It is this necessity upon which the whole social structure, in its present form, hangs. The only way open to the non possessors to live, so long as the privately owned means of life are adequately guarded, is by selling their energy to the possessors. To enforce such sale is the sole object of the private ownership of the means of living by a section of society, and this necessarily places them in antagonism to those whom they coerce into wage slavery.

It is quite clear, then, that if we wish to abolish the antagonism of interests and the class struggle existing in society to-day, we must reverse the condition which gives rise to it. We must reduce the varying and opposing interests to a common and identical interest

This cannot be done by making the interest of the workers the same as that of the master class, for that is an explciting interest, and then there would be no one to exploit-in other words we cannot all be employers. Neither, of course, can we all be employees. So the only way is to find a new position for both classes.

The way of this is, according to our aphorism, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution.

This would at once strip from the master class all the powers by which they hold their privileges, and it would at the same time strike from the workers' limbs the shackles which bind them to their slavery. It would equalise, in all matters relating to the enjoyment of the social wealth and services, all the units of

To-day the vast majority of men must work for wages because they have no other opportunity of gaining a livelihood. If they go unhidden into the fields to dig, or into the factories to spin and weave, they are trespassing or worse. But take away from the possessing class the ownership of the means and instruments of production and distribution, make them the common possession of the whole of the community, and immediately they become accessible to the whole of the community. The avenues of life then are open once more to all those who are willing to pay the natural price of existence—the cost in effort, in expended energy, of the means of sub-

But it does more than this. When it sets the workers free from the necessity of selling their labour-power it extinguishes utterly the opportunity of the master class to live without working. No longer can they lock, bolt, and bar the gates of the world against a section of society. So, being unable to purchase labourpower, and unable, from lack of means of production, to exploit it even if they could purchase it, there could exist only one means of living

open to them-they would have to work

Make no mistake about it, when you strip the master class of their possessions you blot out every vestige of class distinction between them and the working class. Such class distinction does not attach to them as human beings but as owners of property. It is an attribute of property, not of humanity. Even to day we see that when one of the master class loses his property he loses his class distinction and his class privilege. And if he loses his wealth to his butler or his gardener, his class distinction passes with his fortune to his menial.

So the conversion of the means and instruments of production into the common property of society will not only emancipate the working class. It will also unthrone the ruling class and make them one with their erstwhile slaves. With the abolition of classes the antagonism of interests ceases to exist. Standing upon the common ground of undifferentiated units of society, the interests of all must coincide. The interest of the class gives place to the interest of society. That interest, on the economic plane, will be to satisfy as many social needs as the general opinion holds to be worth the cost. This, of course, resolves itself into the economical expenditure of labour-power. This, then would become the common interest of all the members of the community, displacing the antagonism of interests which prevails in society

ANARCHISM REDIVIVUS.

A COUPLE of years ago it seemed that the question of industrial as against political action by the working class had been settled. The Industrialists then were for the most part convinced that, however useful and necessary economic action may be in the struggle for an existence against the downward tendency of conditions following upon the development of capitalist exploitation, it was practically useless on the positive side of the working-class movementthe effort toward the establishment of Socialism

For this purpose the capture of the social, through the political, machinery was an essential of success, and could, moreover, only be achieved along the conscious distinct lines of the prosecution of the class struggle. Hence the necessity for the Socialist Party and its clearcut policy of Socialist propaganda for political

Now we find a wave of "direct action"-a retrogressive revival of obsolete Anarchist doctrine—taking place, and we have to fight again the question: Is the working-class movement toward Socialism to be industrial or political?

That question is complicated by the objective of the newest phase (Syndicalism) being fundamentally different from the objective of the Socialist, and even from the objective of the old industrial unionist. While the two latter were united as to the ownership and control of the means of living being in the hands of the whole of the workers, the Syndicalists aim at the machinery of each industry being owned and controlled by the workers of that industry. This is not Socialism, but social insanity. very confusion that existed and exists among the "craft" unions and formed the basis of the complaints of the "industrial" unionists, is by this means to be extended from their action as trade unions to their activities as organisers of industry. The difficulties along that line, however, are their own, and may be left for their treatment: our complaint as Socialists against both sections is their non-political method

Society has evolved beyond the stage where the conquering war-chief of an alien tribe imposed his autocratic rule over a vanquished people: beyond the stage where the chieftainship became hereditary and the control of the community devolved into the possession of his family: beyond, too, the stage where the owners of the soil were the only members of the community who counted, and the non-possessors were socially voiceless and powerless. We have reached the stage where the society is nominally democratic; where the individual—who can afford £10 a year for rent—is an active member of the social whole, to be consulted on social questions. That the ignorance of the workers

allows the power of capital, the influence of economic forces, to render that nominal democracy a farce can be granted as common ground, but the fact remains that the vote has grown to be the recognised medium through which the democracy expresses its opinion when it happens to have one - on the course of social development. It is within the power of a Socialist working class to register, through the vote, its disagreement with capitalism and the capitalist system of society: within its power to register its belief in the superiority of a Socialist system, and through this means, of using social forces on behalf of the movement clearly indicated by the trend of economic development, and opposed only to the extent of the power of the ruling class. The power of the ruling class to day is in the main that lent it by the votes of the workers who, in their class unconsciousness, vote on one or other of the pretexts skilfully put before them by the politicians of th

The pressure of ever-worsening economic conditions has resulted in a restlessness among the workers, who, in their blind groping after improvement, strike through their trade organisations. The result is disastrous. Nobly as they may struggle, meritorious as their aim may be, it is doomed to end in the maintenance of the conditions whose development had led to the restlessness and the strike. The hands of the clock may have been put back, but the wheels of capitalism grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small. The recurrence of such troubles as are agitating the labour world to day is as certain as any other effect in a long chain of

The futility of the strike is manifest since it does not and cannot alter the fundamental relationship between employer and employed. That relationship is socially confirmed and sanctioned by the community through the vote, and in the event of an industrialist general strike trying to take and hold the means of production, the retention by the master class of the political power, with its concomitant control of the legal and coercive forces of society, would only lead to an upheaval significantly described by our American cousins as a "blood bath."

The political party standing for Socialism and Socialism alone is already in existence; the economic organisation is not vet born. It may be that the framework of existing organisations will be clothed anew with the spread of Socialist ideas among their ranks; certain it is that the economic organisation, if separate, must work in complete unison with the political party, since their membership must necessarily consist, in the main, of the same individuals, and their objective be identical.

To argue that because we are sold and belied by the alleged representatives of Labour in Parliament at present, Socialist representation s impossible, is to talk nonsense. To be afraid of the corruption that has grown up with the political chicanery in the past, is to play into the bands of the masters. They would wish for nothing better than to be left in the quiet possession of the strings controlling society, while the workers run their heads against the bayonets they hold-or have held by others-to receive

There is yet a long row to hoe before the successful revolution comes, and it is up to the Socialist Party to see that the necessity for political action is clearly put forward, and that in the chaos and turmoil of industrial conflict the essentials are not forgotten. The workers' representatives' temptations will then be very real and it is conceivable that for a time even our men might be bought to prostitute their charge; but given the social consciousness of the rank and file and the maintenance of Party discipline, the enemy would soon discover that our representatives had no power to sell anything, and the principle will be safe. Then at last we shall see Socialist representatives acting and speaking on behalf of the Socialists they represent, carrying the war into the enemy's country, and meeting their sophistries with the stern salities of working-class existence

That any essential improvement will accrue within the capitalist system it is impossible to imagine, but the way will be prepared for the final overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS. UNITED KINGDOM.

I welve	Months.			 is. od.
Six	**			 9d.
		AMER	RICA.	
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Six	**			 25 cents.

The Socialist Standard.



DOCKERS BETRAYED.

For ten weeks the London Transport Workers have been out on strike; not for fresh demands, but merely to retain what they had "won" last August. Sir Albert K. Rollit, the Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Edward Clarke have "awarded" them various increases, but the employers have simply ignored them.

Last August the Dockers had a splendid opportunity. The Carmen, Railwaymen, and the Provincial, as well as the London, Dockers were out. Yet immediately Sir G. Askwith, Burns, Masterman, and Buxton had signed "terms of settlement" they were ordered back to work.

The leaders babbled of a glorious victory, and gloated over the fact that not a penny of strike pay was distributed; but not one of the "advances" ever saw the light.

The Transport Workers, like most workers. are ignorant of science. They merely wanted the agreement "honoured" and looked no further Their ignorance is reflected in their choice of "leaders." Did they understand their real interests the Tilletts, Goslings and Wilsons would long since have been unemployed. The Strike Committee ordered a national strike, but when the unionsaffiliated to the Federation (who had never been consulted) refused to comply, the worth of the democracy and leadership of the Federation was seen.

During the ten weeks the Government were not idle. They drafted thousands of armed as well as mounted police into the strike area, sent gunboats into the Thames, and mobilised reserve men all over the country. Hundreds of seldiers were sent to places like Grays and Tilbury. Mr. McKenna borstel that they had supplied more polic · protection for blacklegs than any Government before. The result was that ships were loaded and unloaded despite the strike.

The Shipping Federation raked up blacklegs from all parts. They swore they would never give in. They organised a system of pooling liabilities, and laughed at the men because they had the Government behind them. They knew they could flout the men while the police and soldiers were at their command.

The Dockers hoped great things from the nationalising of the organisation of the Docks. When the Port of London Authority was established they thought casual labour had gone for ever. Instead it has intreased. A leading mem-ber of the Government went from the Board of Trade to the Chair of the Authority, and has shown himself as callous as any Tory, not even excepting the late tyrant of Penrhyn.

Liberals and Tories alike have engaged in the calculated starvation of the men and their for

Rule on the banks of the Liffey. They played the game of the masters. Every suggestion, therefore, met with the firm refusal of the employers. They had evolved their scheme and it did not include surrender.

The fearful sufferings of the toilers could not be surpassed in any age or clime. Radical "Reynolds's" (July 14) says: "Little children of the East End dying like flies. Mothers starving." It goes on to quote Father Ring, a local clergy-

"Bad as the conditions were a fortnight ago they are unfortunately worse now. Landlords are fixing eviction orders on the houses, and this is driving the poor people almost mad. Not only is the East End racked with hunger, not only has every stick of furniture been pledged in many instances, but a new horror is at hand. The matron of a local lying-in home told me that seven babies born in the institution during the strike period had died, in her opinion entirely through the pressure of the strike. Having parted with every stick of furniture, mothers have been unable to provide themselves with the nourishment necessary for the preservation of their own health and the lives of their infants.

The strike leaders played the game in the usual style. They told the men funny stories, prayed to God, boasted, foamed and bounced. Right up to last Saturday afternoon they told the men to stand firm and assured them they were winning. But when the union funds were gone, when the leaders had led their dupes into a cul-de-sac, they scuttled.

The leaders met at the "Royal Hotel," Mile End, and announced the strike over. They issued a manifesto calling upon the men to return to work. The manifesto reads like the usual betraval. The men were ordered back to work unconditionally, but they were never consulted about it. The Strike Committee declare that all agreements must be maintained in their entirety. This in spite of the fact that the employers have definitely refused to carry out their side. It means the men are ordered to do all the giving and the masters are to do all the taking. The former are to go back to work at the complete mercy of the Shipping Federation. Being without funds in their union, the masters know they can't resist. So for a start they have told the men that they must sign on as casual vorkers, not as permanent men.

No wonder 30,000 strikers in Southwark Park toted unanimously against return. Will Thorne, Ben Tillett, Harry Gosling, and Jack Jones were told to their faces by the strikers that they were traitors and turncoats, and that they had sold the men. The men in their rage tore down the notices declaring the strike at an end, and demanded a billot; but heedless of the men's anger the Strike Committee met again and reaffirm of their unanimous decision declaring the

strike off and ordering the men back to work. Though many of the latter may still stand out, the official order to go back will no doubt have the effect of smashing the strike, so that the leaders who have done the masters the good service of depleting the unions' treasuries, at the end of the chapter of tragedy have done them another excellent turn in the capacity of strikesmashers.

Slowly but surely, by twos and threes and at odd times, the men will present themselves to e humiliated by the masters.

Yet the leaders have not yet exhausted their effrontery, for with an almost cynical touch they wind up their manifesto with the statement that the Transport Workers' Federation is "the workers' only hope." Could deception be more

The men must drive these misleaders from their present position. They must learn the esson of the class struggle; they must insist upon democracy. The small power of strikes and the mighty political power of the masters must be realised ere victory can be won. The fight must be waged, not around agreements and recognition, but upon the question of whether slavery shall continue.

The workers then will have no use for Comlies. Meanwhile Labour Members stood cheek by | pulsory Arbitration and Emigration advocates jowl with Lord Devonport, watching the Fleet | like Ben Tillett, and Bottomley's friend, Liberal from the deck of the "Armadale Castle," And | candidates like Harry Gosling, and Tory gold while starvation grew apace on the banks of the candidates like Jack Jones of Camborne will Thames, Asquith and Redmond talked of Home again have to flit by the back door.

THE "INTELLECTUALS."

We dedicate this little book to H. M. Hyndman, Robert Blatchford, and Keir Hardie.

who can give this country a Socialist party tomorrow, if they care to lead the way. If our leaders will not lead, then to the rank and file. who are getting ready to go forward without

THE above is from the fly-leaf of "The Problem of Parliament," the work in which Victor Grayson appealed for unity between the various parties which have been pretending to teach Socialism to the working class. In that work he repeatedly shows that there is no distinction between the glorified capitalism of the Fabian Society and his own conception of a new order. Social ism, he says, is "merely another and better form of government. . . . The ruling of a State or municipality is the highest form of industry and commerce, and must be put in the hands of the most experienced and highly trained men of business who can be discovered. Control by expert officials . . . that

On almost every page the idea is in evidence that we find on the fly-leaf. The leaders must show the way. The "intellectuals" must "fire the people with a desire for reform." If they don't-well, Grayson says the rank and file are preparing to go forward without them. That is the one thing dreaded by the ruling class; an intelligent working class, without leaders The latter, too, object to any scheme in which they do not figure conspicuously. Leaders, therefore, become identified with the ruling class -their interests are identical and in opposition to the working class, which can never be free, even in thought, while it submits to leaders.

is the ideal before Socialists."

The Fabians, I.L.P., S.D.P., and Clarionettes all teach the same dogma to the workers. The B.S.P. has endorsed it by assimilating those who previously held it. They fail completely to substantiate their claim that they possess the qualities necessary to leadership.

When common-sense examines their utterances or their efforts at construction, they are discovered to be not even smart enough to avoid contradiction, not brilliant enough to cover up their inconsistencies, not sufficiently intelligent -or cunning-to obscure their indefiniteness

either in object, principles, or methods.

Directly the B.S.P., without principles or constitution, begins to take action on the political field, its looseness of organisation must become evident, not only to its own rank and file, but also to outsiders.

The party at its formation, and on other occasions (including the conference), has said that its object is "Socialism, nothing less." A single object, and that Socialism, definitely expressed. should, they imagine, place them above suspicion. But apparently the possession of a single object does not prevent them having others-many others, in fact.

Free Maintenence of Children, the Co-operative Organisation of Unemployed Labour, the Minimum Wage in All Industries, and the Eight Hours Law, were mentioned as some by Mr. Hvndman, and agreed to by those present. These evidently do not offer sufficient scope for the ambitious leader; so the conference declared in favour of Proportional Representation, Adult Suffrage, Payment of Election Expenses, the Initiation and Referendum, Single Chamber Legislature, and the Substitution of a Committee Representative of all Parties for the Present Cabinet-also in favour of Home Rule for Ireland.

Yet all the prominent leaders who were present at the conference, and who gave their sanction and blessing, have at different times themselves shown the fallacy of reforms, when describing how working-class conditions worsen, sometimes in spite of them, often because of

An organisation which claims at the outset to its revolutionary object—the only excuse it can a lvance for its nominal separation from the Labour Party-becomes secondary or ultimate; has to wait while something else is done first. Socialism, they say in effect, is the only object.

of the party: let's make sure of Home Rule for Ireland and other things.

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Reforms and revolution are mutually contradictory. Said Mr. Hyndman: "We are face to face with a system which is impossible of reform. Moreover, they confuse the issue." To dally with reforms is therefore to set up by far the most serious opposition to revolution. That section of the workers who have become dis gusted with the sickly, frightened attitude and open compromise of Labour M.P.s, are caught up in the new party that makes revolution its first pious expression of principle, and then proceeds to place it in the lumber room of forgotten things, by dragging into the field of discussion the freak like measures of ambitious and hysterical politicians -non-essentials so far as the workers are concerned—things that do not

The B.S.P. gives even greater latitude—if that were possible—than does the I.L.P. Every member has taken with him into the new party the nostrums on which he has relied for popularity. Inclusion of the trickster means acceptance of his tricks. The policy of the party can only be obtained by totting up the idiosyncracies of its leaders. Grayson's contribution, for instance, broken bottles for strikers, getting kidnapped when something special is expected of him, calling himself a Socialist—as he did at Colne Valley—and running on a Liberal Programme. Blatchford can advocate "the buying out of the capitalist class—by the working class -but not at fancy prices," or appeal to the workers to "stand up for their country (!) right or wrong," in time of war. Hyndman can run an election on Home Rule, one chamber rule, reversal of the Osborne judgment, or any of the numerous "stepping-stones" on which he tried to climb into Parliament, but which he calls stepping-stones to Socialism." Quelch will be free to unfurl the banner of the citizen army, probably claiming as a first contingent the results of the "great propaganda effort" outlined by the Executive for the enrolment of a million Socialists. It is rumoured also that Mr. Jesse Collings is likely to apply for membership, with his "three acres and a cow"; but even without this addition the B.S.P. is entitled to the appellation of the Labour Party-"a queer

This little band of disappointed pilgrims for St. Stephen's, have embodied in a single resolu-tion, purporting to be their attitude toward industrial organisations, sufficient evidence to prove their incapacity to lead, their readiness to compromise and confuse, and their inability to cover up their clumsy attempts to curry favour with every section of those organised indus

They are prepared to give their sympathy and support in the conduct of any struggles in which trade unions may be engaged, or in the task of consolidating, federating, or amalgamating their forces. It evidently does not matter which. They extend their blessing to those who believe that industrial organisations, primarily concerned with haggling over the price of labour-power, and latterly building up funds to keep their members off capitalist rates, are necessary as a framework on which to construct a co-operative commonwealth.

They say it is their duty to bring the workers together as class conscious trade unionistswhatever they may be -and Socialists, so that, with the existing trade unions, they will "absolutely control by their labour the entire industry of the country." By this time we should be justified in assuming that the working class had got all they wanted. Not so, however. The control of industry by Labour is merely subsidiary to the "main function of the party," which is expressed in the same resolution as: "The organisation of an independent political party of the working class, aiming at the conquest of political power by that class, as the political expression of the working-class movement, and as a means to its final emancipation.'

Surely no worker with ordinary sense and discrimination can fail to discover in this obsequious truckling to the mistaken beliefs of so different sections, the real object of the B.S.P. leaders—to obtain a following in order that they may sell them. Parliamentary seats and suchlike rewards only go to those who lead successfully. If the discontented ones would _ucceed they must find something less transparent than this - most important of the resolutions passed at their first conference.

The intrigues and conspiracies of politicalcum-Syndicalist adventurers, whether transparent or dexterous, should impose upon no one The fallacy of reforms and the suffering that goes with so-called economic action-without corresponding gain-becomes every day more apparent. Socialism has long ago reached tha stage where there is no longer any excuse for confusion. The revolutionary object, the principles upon which alone all workers can find a common platform, together with the method, are dictated as well by science and history as by common sense. Those who understand cannot spare the time to discriminate between the ignorant leader and the unscrupulous adventurer the effect of both is confusion. Our task is

to make Socialism clear to the workers, and we shall persevere with that task until the game of the leaders is played out—until there is no one to lead, because "the rank and file are ready to go forward of themselves.

JOTTINGS.

'IT is astonishing to the 'business men' to find how 'practical' the 'Socialist dreamer' is when he is on public committees. His ideas nearly always work out best as 'business propositions.

The above is culled from the columns of "Justice" (29.6.12) in order to give wider publicity to the self-condemnation of the B.S.P. which is therein contained. Any comment would spoil it.

The Anti-Socialists are fond of indulging their vivid imaginations by weaving tales to the effect that ability is bound to make its way while competition prevails, and that under Socialism talents would cease to be used for the common good because of "a lack of incentive." How ability is rewarded under the existing order may be judged from the Civil List Pensions for any year.

Take the financial year closing March 31st, 1912, for instance. There are 17 awards to 19 persons, total amount, £1,200 per annum. Eight of the persons whose qualities are the basis of award are still alive: three of these have been awarded their pensions on account of ill health and necessitous circumstances, and of the remaining eleven awards to dependents of wellknown workers in the realms of the graphic arts, literature, research, and science, eight receive their pensions because of "reduced circumstances," "inadequate means of support," necessitous circumstances and "ill health

Of course these 19 cases are only an infinite simal portion of the vast number where talent fails to get its due reward under capitalism.

Professors Tyndall and Huxley for a large portion of their lives were very poor, Herbert Spencer had to struggle long with poverty, and Karl Marx had to depend upon the kindly aid of Eugels. A rather striking illustration is the case of Colonel Robert Hume, R.E., a brilliant officer, who, according to Sir William Butler, was frading brains and knowledge, geographical and other, for Ministers and Statesmen whose names figured largely in the European congresses that preceded and followed Russo-Turkish War. He frequently sat late into the night at home, working a sewing machine to keep his children in clothes."

This was the man who "coached" the Ministers in charge of foreign affairs at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877.

Talk about "the reward of ability" and 'incentive to gain"! Ye gods!

By an error, in the paragraph in last month's issue dealing with the B.S.P. and the St. Rollox bye-election, the word "Liberals" appeared instead of "Tories." This will be sufficient intimation to those readers who know the old S.D.F. policy of "voting against the men in

Substantiation of the Socialist explanation of the why and wherefore of war is to hand in the comments of the "Daily Telegraph" (11.7.12) on Sir E. Grey's speech on the relations between England and the foreign powers. I could not, for instance, add much to the following

"The solid truth -if only it could be realised abroad -- is that we have no vaulting ambitions or schemes which can run counter to the aspirations of neighbours unless these aspirations are essentially inimical to our welfare. The real rivalry of nations in this generation is the rivalry in commerce."

The "Manchester Guardian" (8.7.12) also assists in the confirmation of our contention that wars to-day are fought in the economic interest of the capitalist class. Dealing with Mr. J. W. Graham's book "Evolution and Empire" it

"With remorseless logic Mr. Graham traces the economic interests moulding Imperialism and enforcing a policy of armaments as an instrument in this sordid game. He shows how the loanmonger, the concessionaire, and the investor become more and more the directing influences in foreign policy, utilising for their profitable ends the ambition of politicians and

sentimental patriotism of the peoples. The pressure of surplus goods and surplus capital for foreign markets is everywhere at work making history. . . . Nothing that Mr. Graham can say about the waste and folly of modern warfare disposes of the fact that it may pay, or seem to pay, powerful interests within the several nations to expose these nations to risks and sacrifices of unknown magnitude in order to gain their private profitable

This is plain speaking.

When some of us have criticised the B.S.P. from evidence appearing in "Justice," exception has been taken to the evidence on the ground that "Justice" is not the official organ of the party. The first number of the official organ of the party is to hand, and judging from the report of an Executive Council meeting held July 8, 1912, the same confusion repudiated in "Justice" is to figure as officially certified. Take

"Some correspondence and a resolution were read announcing the intention of the Aberdeen branch to attack the I.L.P. locally: decided to write the branch that such action was contrary to the decision of the Conference to send fraternal greetings to the I.L.P., and the branch must refrain from such action or withdraw from the Party.

Which makes the "Appeal" leaflet of the B.S.P. lie when on page 3 it says:

"The British Socialist Party, therefore, refuses to consider any reforms as beneficial which pre-

suppose the continuance of poverty."

For in so far as the I.L.P. stand for reforms which are only necessary because of a continu ance of poverty, to that degree do the B.S.P. acquiesce in the workers being misled when they prevent their branches opposing the fraudulent campaign of the I.L.P.

Take also the matter dealt with on page 3. 'Bye Election Policy."):—

"Consideration was therefore given to the bye-election proceeding at Holmfirth, but in view of the presence of the Labour candidate and the absence of any branches in the division, it was decided to take no action.'

From which it can only be assumed that the B.S.P. is unnecessary since it is not to oppose Labour candidates and the I.L.P. Especially is one driven to the conclusion that the BSP is entirely superfluous when one considers that it is "a union of Socialist (!) forces which have hitherto been divided on method and detail ("Appeal," page 1). For if the I.L.P. is reck-oned a Socialist organisation by the B.S.P., and its method and detail have not altered, why

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Will all whom it may concern please note that Pasty's Head Office on and after August 1st is: -

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CO-PARTNERSHIP AGAIN.

THE fraudulent nature of the co-partnership scheme has often been exposed by the Socialist Party. They have shown, both in their organ and on their platform, how it has for its object the greater efficiency of the worker, resulting in an increase of profits on the one hand, and more unemployment on the other. The truth of this statement has once again been demonstrated by an article which appeared in the "Daily Chronicle" of 9.5.12. The writer commences thus:

"Co-partnership will unlock the doors of our doubting castle. And the troubles which the world of Labour has experienced, especially during recent times, have had an enormou influence in bringing people to a belief in this policy. Under industrial conditions as they exist at present competition has assumed much of the destructive and wasteful element of war: the dangers of disagreement and disputes tend to become ever greater."

It is, then, the Labour trouble, attended by the "destructive and wasteful element," and the danger of future disagreement becoming greater, that is forcing people to a belief in Co-partnership. Who is meant by the word "people" we are not told; but that the writer is referring to the capitalist class there is no doubt, as they are the only people interested in preventing waste and destruction. These things have no dread for the workers. The destruction of property is welcomed by them as a means of supplying a demand for more labourers.

That it is the capitalist class who have cause to be interested in Co-partnership is shown by the following remarks:

"When Labour problems are discussed in the House of Commons, that policy is advocated from both sides as the most effective remedy for introducing into our industrial system the desired element of peace, greater efficiency,

We see now what this scheme is expected to accomplish.

(1) The desired element of peace. That peace is desired by the master class goes without saying. As Marx and Engels pointed out in the Communist Manifesto in 1848:

"The Socialistic (!) bourgeoisie want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily arising therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. geoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois Socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.'

Those words are as true to-day as when they were written.

(2) Greater efficiency.

As we have previously stated, this is the main reason for the capitalists supporting the scheme. More efficient workers require less time to perform a given task, with the result that the wage bill is reduced. Which in turn means more profit for the employer and more unemployment for the workers.

(3) Justice all round.

The desired element of peace and greater efficiency-what could be more just, from the employers' point of view? In fact, it rivals the murder of workers (by bullets or by bricking them up in a burning mine) for its justice al round. But enough of a word reeking with such hypocrisy. We will allow the writer to distinguish his pet scheme from the inferior brand of profit-sharing.

"It will be well at the outset to distinguish clearly between mere profit-sharing and Copartnership. The former, of course, is one element of the latter, but it lacks the second and chief feature, which is capital-owning.

These two factors combined naturally make a much stronger and more effective policy. Profit-sharing alone- the paying of a bonus halfyearly or yearly-has been found in many cases not to achieve the desired ends-for there are more than one. It generally means a spurt in work when the bonus is nearly due, but seldom general and sustained efficiency: it is sometimes used as a cover for lower wages; the workers remain servants without a voice in the affairs of the business for the prosperity of which they are largely responsible; there is no sharing of losses, should such accrue, save to the extent of a fall in wages or loss of employment.

Under a real and effective scheme of Copartnership—profit-sharing and capital-owning -however, all the desired conditions are present. The worker gains a double interest in the success of the business. He receives a share of the profits, which he invests in the concern, and a return on that investment. As the losses, too, must be carried by the share capital, he has an additional incentive to effort. His point of view is changed and enlarged by having a voice in the management of the works. That has, it should be pointed out, a most excellent educative effect on the workers."

Profit-sharing alone does not achieve the desired ends. It generally means a spurt in work when the bonus is nearly due, but seldom general and sustained efficiency. In other words the employer is advised that Co-partnership is the most effective means of inducing men to work as hard as they possibly can from the first of January to the thirty-first of December.

We see also that profit sharing is used as a cover for lower wages. If that is the case, Copartnership will be used for such a purpose, or we have the alternative that the workers will wait in vain for their share out. Yet in spite of this they are persuaded that under a scheme of this character it is to their interest to work hard.

We are next told how the employee's interest will be looked after

"Then again a necessary feature is the formation of a committee for the employees, to look after their interest, a body which also provides machinery for the settlement of disputes at their beginning, and not when they have assumed large and dangerous propor

In what way will the committee benefit the workers? The men who constitute the committee, being employees, will be just as much under the domination of the masters as any other workers. If they refused to act as the employer desired unemployment would be their

The settlement of disputes by means of the committee would, no doubt, suit the capitalists. Strikes are not always convenient. They also tend to demonstrate to the worker the antagonism of interests between the buyer and seller of labour-power: between slave and slave-owner.

Now, in order that there should be no misunderstanding we are acquainted with the following facts:

"Sir George [Livesey], when chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, the most striking example of this kind of partnership, stated that the £427,000 paid in 18 years in the form of profit to the employees did not mean a single penny reduction to the share holders, because the workers had earned it by better and more economical working.

What an admission! Not a single penny reduction to the shareholders. But might we be so impertinent as to ask what they gained as a result of the better and more economical working? And was the money the men received used as a cover for lower wages?

The contention that this scheme is a fraud in again supported by the following:-

"The scheme, too, has been adopted with great success by many of the largest limited liability companies in the country, and this list is continually being added to.

Success and more profit are to the car synonymous terms, when referring to his business. Co-partnership has proved a great success by being an effective means of further speeding up the workers, and at the same time lessening the chance of their retaliating with a strike.

The sooner the workers realise that the capi-

talist class, by owning the means of wealth production, are enabled to live upon the wealth they steal from the workers, the sooner they will know that all this talk of the employer helping the employee to become a part owner of things is just sheer, unblushing hypocrisy.

E. LAKE.

THE "WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC."

To side-track the workers from their emancipation, or, it may be, from some other motive, the Liberal and Tory Press are making much capital out of the "White Slave Traffic." In parti-cular, "The Star" for June 10th last, quotes in its leader a certain Dr. Ettie Sayer, who gives an account of a girl patient who told her she worked in the restaurant of a flourishing West End drapery establishment. She says that she received six shillings per week and (rather unusual) a good dinner and tea, but no gratuities were allowed. She had to provide out of this six shillings, breakfast and supper each day, her Sunday meals, clothes, laundering, lodging and omnibus fares to and from a district where

lodgings are cheap.

The Editor of "The Star" comes to the conclusion that the root of the evil which the world calls the "white slave traffic" is the low payment of labour. That is not a vast way from the truth as the Socialist understands it. of the Socialist Party have always pointed out that prostitution and procuration are the result of the ownership by a section of society, of the means of production. We have pointed out that the cause is

INSECURITY OF LIVELIHOOD.

What is the position of the girls of the working class to-day? They have to sell their labourpower to a master. The wages they receive are in many cases so meagre that they must do something to enhance their income. Hence we have the spectacle of women selling their bodies.

Not content with the way these girls are ground down in the factory hells, certain people further prey upon them by procuring them (we are told by "The Star") for sale to the brothels are told by of America and elsewhere.

Now certain men in Parliament are introducing legislation designed to palliate the evil. That is all they hope to do. They know as well as we do that there can be no cure under the capitalist system till the cause of the effects is done away with. According to "The People" of June 16th, the promoters of the Bill do not hope to eradicate the terrible social ulcer which is the subject of their attentions. All they look to do to aid the unwilling to be commercialised. That is, those girls who are too "shy" to enhance their income by prostitution. All this bears out our contention that it is useless to

TINKER WITH EFFECTS.

In the same issue of "The People" it is said that a lot of immorality is due to the ignorance and ridiculous prudery of the elders. It seems that all our contemporaries are being converted to the Socialist philosophy. It is due to the environment. The people's education is insufficient. It serves the purposes of the master class to prevent the workers understanding those things which are essential to one who wishes to enjoy a healthy and a manly life. The above-mentioned paper also states that it is impossible by Act of Parliament to make men moral. True, but it is through the domination of a class that immorality exists.

We of the Socialist Party can show how the White Slave Traffic can be abolished. We follow the scientific course of first ascertaining

THE CAUSE OF THE EVIL, and then we build up our remedy from the facts as we find them

The cause of the White Slave Traffic is also the cause of many other evils which so terribly afflict the working class. It is the private ownership of the means of life.

A doctor, having discovered the cause of his it. For instance, in the case of that fashionable complaint, appendicitis, the doctor, having come to the conclusion that the root of his patient's trouble is inflamation of the appendix, removes the unhealthy organ, if other means of dealing with the cause fail.

Society, like the individual, is an organism suffering from disorder in one of its parts. The same way is therefore necessary to deal with the large organism that is diseased. We Socialists have found the cause to lie in the private ownership of property. We have found that the time has long gone by when the causes which render this social institution a danger to the social existence could be dealt with. means is the knife. But the surgical instrument can only be wielded by the majority of the workers. Owing to the fact that they do not know how to use it their masters hold it. The instrument is the

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POLITICAL MACHINE

the powers of government which control the armed forces of the nation. When the workers know how to use this instrument they will speedily put an end to the capitalist system, which breeds poverty, misery, and prostitution, and will organise a society based upon the common ownership of the means and instruments of production and distribution.

We of the S.P.G.B. are out always putting before the workers their position as a class. It is incumbent upon those who understand their position to muster under our banner, to the end that this system, with its fruit, the White Slave Traffic, may be for all time overthrown.

THE PROBLEM OF HIGH PRICES.

THE present is a period of high prices. Workers and merchants alike are grumbling and wondering at this troublesome phenomenon. The workers are in a state of half-conscious rebellion; strikes are frequent; attempts are made to bring wages up to the standard of the new prices of commodities. Merchants are receiving stereotyped letters all telling a like story: "Owing to the high cost of raw materials and fuel, and the increase of wages and salaries, the National Insurance Act, etc., etc., we are reluctantly compelled to raise our prices ten per cent."

Though a wholesale or retail merchant is well aware of the difficulty of getting enhanced prices, yet they jump to the conclusion that the manufacturer is raising prices simply because of his wicked individual craving to do so, in order to meet new expenses, etc. This we know to be absurd; but what of capitalist combines? what of associations and selling agreements betwixt rings of ambitious exploiters? Have these associations the power to do what economists say a number of competitors are powerless to do? Are the admitted effects of supply and demand upon prices cancelled when capitalists form combines and "artificially" attempt to raise prices?

A trust may raise prices so extravagantly that another article is substituted. For instance, in normal times there can be no fancy price for coal: oil and electricity are ever feared by our coal barons.

Mr. Chiozza Money thinks that an important cause of present high prices is the increasing scarcity of tin, copper, and other metals. But even if a metal such as tin is scarce; even if it is scarce and a monopoly, there are obvious limits to prices—even to prices based upon a monopolist's desires. If tin were to reach a much higher price it is probable that it would be rendered obsolete for domestic and other uses by aluminium ware, for the exploiters of a new article are ever on the watch ready to seize a new

But it is probable that laws operating under a regime of competition are cancelled under monopoly. If a coterie of capitalists can control the output in any trade, it would seem as if. within certain limits, they can raise prices. Now especially, when "trade is good," can prices be easily raised in well-organised trades; arrangements to raise prices have even been successful over periode very slack trade. To the writer's knowledge, amongst other things, wire fencing and cast iron holloware, articles subject to open competition and which anyone could manufacture, have been price-maintained

for years by a compact between capitalists which covered the whole trade. Better known instances are oil, screws, wallpaper, cotton thread, linoleum, tobacco, etc. The predominance of proprietary articles, price maintenance schemes, capitalist pools, and other such factors, are causing people to ask the question whether the influence on prices of supply and demand is not being modified by that "capitalist will which economists once thought had so little influence. This issue is then raised: That if the profits in any trade rise above the average profit in all trades, then new capital is attracted to the super-profitable trade. Competition thus becomes more keen and profits tend down again to the normal. Is it not possible, however, for a newcomer in a trade that is protected by arranged prices, to be met with overtures and blandishments if he joins in the price scheme, and threatened with "price cutting" if he remains obdurate? Such a line of action would certainly not be novel.

The laws operating under competition are likely to be altered under monopoly, and even if the desires of capitalists have not unfettered scope, yet by plotting and using discretion it would seem as if they can obtain good financial results by arrangements amongst themselves, and can influence prices to a greater extent than was thought possible by economists. Karl Marx and capitalist economists agreed in

seeing a connection between cheap gold and high prices. Mr. McCulloch said: "It has been contended, by Mr. Locke and others, that the value of the precious metals is imaginary, or that it depends on the consent of the nations who have adopted them, to serve as a circulating medium. . . . Gold is not more valuable than iron, or lead, or tin, because of its greater brilliancy, durability, or ductility; but simply because an infinitely greater outlay of capital and labour is required to produce a given quantity of gold than is required to produce the same quantity of either of these metals. . . . It is sufficiently well known that those who employ their capitals in the working of gold or silver mines do not, upon the average, obtain any greater returns than those who are engaged in raising of coals or the manufacture of bricks. The production of the precious metals is not subjected to any species of monopoly or restraint. All individuals at their pleasure may employ capital in the extraction of bullion from the mines; and there is no conceivable limit to the extent to which its supply may be increased.' To all this (save the babble of "capital and

labour") a Socialist can subscribe. Marx, in his monograph on "Wage Labour and Capital," says: "In the sixteenth century the gold and silver in circulation in Europe was augmented in consequence of the discovery of America. The value of gold and silver fell, therefore, in proportion to other commodities. The labourers received for their labour the same amount of silver coin as before. The money price of their labour remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same sum of silver they obtained a smaller

quantity of other commodities."

According to "Whitaker's Almanack" the production of gold for the whole world since 1901 has taken the following course: In 1901 £54,000,000; in 1904, £69,000,000; in 1907. £85,000,000; in 1910, £95,000,000. And with the increasing quantities there have been discovered improved methods of treating the ore which lower the cost of production and renders the gold cheaper.

The two factors dealt with—cheaper gold and capitalist co-operation - would appear to account for the upward tendency of prices. Anyone hoping to benefit the workers by an attack on these two things is a reformer. They are effects of the capitalist system and only the destruction of capitalism will check such anti-social growths. There are the trade unions, struggling despair ingly to keep wages on the track of advancing prices; there are currency cranks with financia fads for social salvation. Well, the progress of the Socialist movement may seem slow to those in the thick of the fight, but our progress is lightning-like compared with the injuries in flicted upon capitalism by such puny fighters. The effects of capitalism upon prices, the commodity quality of price will only cease when capitalism bites the dust. JOHN A. DAWSON.

"RARE AND REFRESHING FRUIT"

IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The greatest democratic Government of our were returned to power as a protest against the "wicked extravagance" of the Tory party. They ran on a programme of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," and claimed their three hundred odd majority as an emphatic mandate for their policy. Six and a half years have passed, and the Ministerial "Daily News and Leader" of July 16 tells us that: "There is the great fact that since the Liberals came into office in 1906 the Naval Estimates have gone up from £33,000,000 to £44,000,000—an increase of £11,000,000 in all. Add to that the £1,000,000 just given from the realised surplus, and you have an increase of £12,000,000

In complete answer to would be apologists the same paper says that: "The Germans spend 22 millions less than Great Britain on her navy or only half as much—£1 German to every £2 English. Is not that an adequate margin to a great naval nation like ourselves?

But the Government does not stop there. Following upon the return of the Featherstone butcher Asquith from the Mediterranean meeting with the Soudan butcher Kitchener, three new Dreadnoughts, we are informed by the Cocoa News, each costing two millions, are to be built. In the words of our informant, "the increasing expenditure following upon these demands will be not less than £4,000,000, and probably £5,000,000, the year after. In other words we are now within easy distance of a £50,000,000 Navy."

The Cabinet says that the road to Egypt is insufficiently guarded! True once again to Liberal traditions, the policy adopted is in total conflict with every promise Liberals have made regarding Egypt. Gladstone and his successors repeatedly said that England's stay in Egypt would be very brief and "we" should evacuate directly peace was restored. "Peace" was restored after the most cold-blooded butchery of a people "rightly struggling to be free" (vide Gladstone) that annals can show. Thirty years have passed, but warships and soldiers are still there in great numbers.

While they are prating about peace the Liberals are heaping up armaments all over their empire. Not only in Persia and Egypt are these preparations for slaughter being made, but at home as well, and these forces will be used to crush the toilers by both Liberal and Tory sections of the employing class. And this is the Government which the Labour Party are supporting with their votes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED-

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)

"Weekly People" (New York).
"New York Call" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver). "The Star of the East" (Melbourne).

'Maoriland Worker' (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

The New World" (West Ham).

"Freedom" (London).

RECEIVED.

"The Labour Movement," by L. T. Hobhouse, ls. net. "Modern Democracy: A Study in Tendencies," by Brougham Villiers. 7s. 6d. "Syndicalism and the General Strike," by Arthur D. Lewis. 7s. 6d. All published by Fisher Unwin.

ILFORD BRANCHS.P.G.B

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

Will be continued throughout the year . **EVERY SUNDAY EVENING**

> OPPOSITE ILFORD STATION.

ALSO ON THURSDAY EVENINGS AT SAME SPOT.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST.

		(LONDON D	ISTRICT.)		
SUNDAYS.		4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	S. Elliott	M. George	D. B. Campbell	A. Barker
	7.30	A. Cox	T. W. Allen	C. Elliott	H. Joy
Clapham Common "	3.30	A. Cox	T. W. Allen	E. Fairbrother	H. Joy
Edmonton Green	7.30	A. Bays	A. Jacobs	R. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson
Finsbury Park	3.30	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Forest Gate. (Station)	7.30	I E. Roe	J. Brown	A. Jacobs	A. Bays
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11.30	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte	H. Joy	J. Le Carte
	7.30	R. Fox	F. Vickers	A. Kohn	F. Vickers
llford (station)	7.30	B. Young	A. Bays	C. Parker	J. Brown
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	I. E. Roe	E. Fairbrother	J. Brown	C. Parker
	7.30	F. Dawkins	A. Hoskyns	A. Bays	F. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	E. Fairbrother	F. Leigh	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns
Parliament Hlll	11.30	F. Leigh	J. Roe	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother
Peckham Triangle	7.30	H. Joy	I. Roe	R. Fox	A. Cox
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	S. Blake	F. J. Rourke	A. Cox	A. W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	11.30	A. Barker	S. Blake	J. Roe	H. Cooper
2 Cotting Dicade way	7.30	D. B. Campbell	H. Cooper	A. Barker	J. Elliot
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns	A.W. Pearson	F. Dawkins
2 Octobridani, 17 con ortoni omi	7.30	A. Jacobs	F. J. Rourke	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Walham Green Church	7.30	A. Anderson	H. Joy	S. Blake	D. B. Campbell
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0	A. W. Pearson	B Young	T. Adams	A. Jacobs
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	A. Kohn	D. B. Campbell	J. Roe	A. Barker
Watford Market Place	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Pearson	F. Leigh	A. Hoskyns
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill		J. Brown	F. W. Stearn	F. J. Rourke	B. Young
	7.30	T. W. Alllen	R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke
		C 9 20		•	

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8.Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.

PRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. [Wimbledon Broadway.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh Honse, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the
Executive Committee. Applications should
be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield

rd, Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m. EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

BDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street,

FULHAM.—J. Williams, Sec., 25, De Morgan Road, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Wal-ham Green.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2. Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Ed. Lock, Sec., 97. Thorold-road, Ilford. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford. All communications to secretary.

ISLINGTON .- S. Hammond, Sec., 12, Vorley-road Upper Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wed, at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Mondays at 8. Public invited. MARYLEBONF. A. Kohn, Sec. 24, Carburton-sreet,

W. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 6.30, at 6, Nutfore-pl., Edgware-rd.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W.
Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W.

Branch meets Thurs, atp.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PBCKHAM.--W. Wren, Secry, 91, Evelina-road, Nunhead. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30 at 21. Nunhead Lane, Peckham. SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.- Communications to Secy.,
Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where

Branch meets Wednesdays at 8. STOKE NEWINGTON .- Communications to Sec-

retary, 81, Mildmay-read, Newington Green, Branch meets Mons 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. TOOTING .- W. Thomas, Sec., 47 Woodbury-street,

Tooting Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction. TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester.rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd.,

Tottenham. Rooms open every even ley-road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8. at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.-G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to H. Tate, 76, First Avenue, Plaistow. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Diring Rooms,

alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.
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OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b. and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT

BRITAIN

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capit alist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antag onism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freefom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of : Il mankind without istinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of

he working-class itself. • That as the machinery of government, includng the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery. including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege ristocratic and plutocratic.

. That as all political parties are but the ex pression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class. the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, there ore, enters the field of political action deternined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the vorking-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to savality, and slavery to freedom

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS ARE HELD

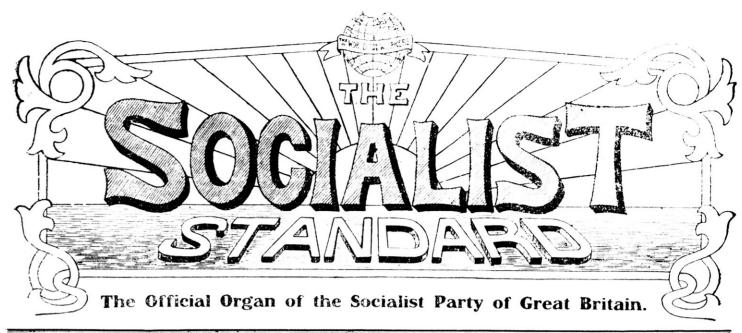
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No. 97. Vol. 9.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1912.

[Monthly, One Penny.

THE LYING LAND CAMPAIGN. THE SOCIALIST VIEW.

At a time when the toilers are engaged in a bitter struggle with the employers, the Liberals are busy diverting attention to the "wicked landlords" and their "unearned increment." The dockers being "done down" by a

The Cause Devonport, are told to tax land valof the ues. The miners, vainly seeking 5s. a day, are urged to support the Sin-Shindy. gle Tax idea. The railway men, cursing Conciliation, are advised to levy the ducal landlords.

The Land Tax campaign serves the Liberal manufacturers well. Labour unrest is exploited to turn the minds of the workers away from the real question to the old boger of taxing land. The policy of smothering men's bitter feelings against the Devonports, Thomas's, and Hugh Bells, has, however, a more palpable and material driving force behind it. Hence we note from the Liberal Press that a wealthy and influential committee has been formed to boom the Land Tax campaign.

Mr. Joseph Fels, the well-known soap manufacturer, has contributed £30,000, and many others have given largely. Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, the Liberal pottery manufacturer, is one of the leading spirits in the movement.

Hirelings are sent about the country at great expense, preaching the virtues of the Single

But why this enormous expenditure? Why this outcry about taxation? Once the worker grasps the true facts of the question of taxation, the campaign and its real meaning become plain. The upkeep of this system of society calls for hundreds of millions a year to support the services that must be run to ensure the safety of

The cost of the Army, Navy, Police, and beaurocracy is ever rising, and the manufacturers and business men - chiefly organised in the Liberal party-are crying out about their heavy burden of taxation. Wishing to divide the cost of those forces and institutions necessary to keep the workers down, they propose to tax land or land values. The landowners, on the other hand, have no desire to be taxed further, hence their bitter wail.

This time honoured squabble as to who should pay is but one between robbers over the cost of the robbery. That does not, however, prevent our Liberal masters inveigling the workers into the fight. They first of all say that An Axe the toilers pay the taxes, and now

say that if only workers and comthe landlords pay, both toilers' and the campaign to help them. traders' taxes will be lightened.

secured in shifting the industrial magnates' burdens" on to the landlords.

The same specious promises are being made about this that are made about every other reform passed by the Liberals. Each of them, like the Single Tax, was going to remove the poverty, unemployment, and destitution from the country. The Budget of 1909 was praised to the skies by the Liberal and Labour Parties, and its author paraded the country picturing its effects upon the condition of the masses. It was going to crush the mighty monopoly of the land, and this, the mother of us all, was going to be brought within the reach of the people. The power of "our old nobility" was going to be broken, "now and for ever."

As we said at the time, even if more land is brought into the open market, by land taxes or anything else, those who can offer most for the land obtain it. The 1909 Budget was to end the extortionate prices charged, and this is how it did it, according to our Liberal contemporary, the "Daily Chronicle," (25.10.10):-

"Since the Land Taxes the price of land has actually risen. Obviously, then, they have not caused the land to fall in value."

And even after another two years working Liberal "Reynolds's" tells us A Peep (11.8.12) that "the landowners Behind are doing better than ever."

the Scenes. The landowners have The landowners have become themselves. "But," say the latter, "we have made the landlords contribute towards the cost of National Government." True, but who gain? Not the working class, for owning no property to be taxed, they are relieved of no taxation.

Who actually were to be relieved Mr. Lloyd. George himself showed in his speech at Newcastle, 9.10.09:-

"Take the Rhondda Valley—it is one of the best coalfields in South Wales. The landlords receive annually £200,000 in royalties. They receive £30,000 a year in ground rents. The colliery proprietors there pay in rates £54,000 a year. The landlords do not pay a penny. . Industry is burdened and the landlords do not contribute a penny towards the heavy and growing rates of the district."

The mine-owners, like the rest of the industrial property owners, are to save their rates and taxes and the real estate owner is to pay. Firms like the Cambrian Combine which made half a million out of the working class in twelve years, are to grow richer, and miners are lured into

The halfpenny in the pound Budget tax, how- shifted on to "land values." Once the workers are drawn into the contro- ever, did not satisfy the most militant of the versy a double purpose is served. First, they masters. It didn't bring them enough rylief stop fighting the industrial exploiters - the ac- from taxes. And as for the working class, the tive enemies; secondly, their assistance is more the land taxes yielded the greater grew the

volume of labour unrest. Two years after the great 1909 Budget" its author declared (Cardiff, 29.12.11) that poverty, privation, and oppression were more widespread and worse than

they had ever been before. So to "Let the fill the parasites' pockets and to Landowner stifle wage-workers' demands, Pay." the Liberals are assiduously preaching the Single Tax.

Thirty years ago the purblind "prophet of San Francisco," Henry George, popularised the Single Tax idea; but in advocating it he showed its capitalist nature. "Put one tax on the land, sufficient to cover all national expenditure, and you can abolish every tax upon the capitalist.' That in short was his message. He was a keen supporter of the private and class ownership of all the means and instruments for producing wealth. He held that it was a shame for the poor railway-owners and mine-owners and factoryowners to have to pay for the soldiers and police they use to blackleg upon and murder the workers during strikes. "Let the landowner pay!" was his cry, and it is one which is being echoed by the Hemmerdes, the Neilsons, the Outhwaites, and the Lloyd Georges to-day.

They state that 2d. in the pound upon "the value of land will enable every other tax to be abolished." They tell the workers that the Single Tax will cure the evils which exist, but to the propertied class they sing a different tune.

The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, the leading Single Tax advocates, have issued a leaflet (No. 17) entitled "Why the Shopkeepers should support the Taxation of Land Values," and after a long appeal to the pocket interest of these people it winds up thus: Taxation of Land Values means: Lower Rates and Taxes. More customers and more Profits.'

Marx well wrote to a New York friend who sent him George's "Progress and Poverty"

"The whole thing is simply an attempt to rescue the rule of capitalism - in fact to rear it anew on a firmer basis than its present one. This cloven hoof, together with the donkey's ears, peeps unmistakably out of the declamation of Henry George."

Turn to the Pacific Slope, the pet example of Henry George's followers, and you will see the fallacies of the Single Taxer. Mr. Joseph Hyder. Secretary of the Land Nationalisation Society,

Tried and writing to England's chief Liberal paper, the "Manchester Guar-Found dian," on October 9th, 1911, gives the case of two Canadian towns Wanting. where most of the rates have been

Burnaby, near Vancouver City, adopted the system some years ago, and whereas in 1908 land and buildings together were valued at \$1,707,000, in 1910 the land alone was declared

at \$10,000,000. In the year 1911 it nearly doubled. "It would seem from this," says Mr Hyder, "that the land speculators have been a great deal busier than the builders, notwithstanding they have had to pay the whole of the

Vancouver City in 1910 began to levy the whole of the local rates upon land values. But the landlords, says this land reformer, are a long way "from being taxed out of existence." In spite of the increasing taxes upon them land values mounted from \$2,500,000 in 1887 to \$99,000,000 in 1910. And land speculation of the extremest kind, the writer goes on, has not

Mr. Hyder makes an appeal for State ownership of land. Henry George and his modern imitators agree to leave the landlord his land, with the condition that he pays taxes upon it.

From a working-class view-point both policies are futile. Tax land values as much as you like, the taxes will be levied to build Dreadnoughts and increase the weapons against the workers. Relief from taxation will be gained by the industrial exploiters, who will thereby become a richer and stronger enemy of our class

If, on the other hand, "the State" takes over the land, then it will still be as far from the workers' pockets as ever. It will still go to the highest bidder, who will not be the toiler, but the capitalist. However great the workers' demand for land may be, it cannot be made effective. cannot be backed with the necessary

The Public Ownership Parliamentary Council on August 1st issued a manifesto advocating the gradual purchase of land. The members of the Council include Single Tax opponents and millionaires like Sir Charles Henry and Baron de Forest, Liberal apologists like Mr. Chiozza Money, and Labour misleaders like Messrs. P. Snowden and J. Pointer.

The manifesto calls for purchase from existlandowners upon the basis of the National Land Valuation, the land to be paid for in redeemable bonds-the interest to be paid out of the annual revenue of the land acquired. Hence the only difference would be that the rent is to be paid to the State instead of to private owners. The proceeds would go to the master class, who control the State. Part would be paid in interest to the land grabbers and their descendants, the rest to relieve the employers from taxation.

Even to day plenty of land is State owned in England, Ireland, India, Russia, and many other places, but the self-same evils afflict the workers under it as under other forms of ownership. Historically it is true, as Marx says in "The Modern Theory of Colonization," that the expropriation of the producers from the soil formed the basis of the workers' wage-slavery. But as Marx also shows, the development of industry since that time has increased the wealth and power of the capitalist class enormously; so that even where so-called free land exists the toilers are as bad off. For they cannot provide the plant, machinery, and other naterials to work the soil in a world of fierce competition. They cannot compete against the mighty capitalists.

The Labour Party have done their best to bcom this fraudulent land campaign. Of their Members of Parliament 37 signed the Land and Taxation Reform Memoria to the Government (18.5.11), and the names included George Lansbury. Keir Hardie, George Barnes, Will Thorne, Philip Snowden, F. W. Jowett, and Will Crooke. It opened thus :-

"We the undersigned Members of Parliament desire to place on record our grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Prime Minister. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Ministers of the Cabinet, in placing upon the Statute Book of the country, the Budget of 1909-10, which for the first time recognises the principle of the separate valuation of land and thus provides a more equitable distribution of the burdens of the State in securing to each the results of his own labour and in opening up the land to those who can make the best use of it.'

The memorial goes on to "respectfully urge" he Government to substitute for other taxes higher tax on land.

The Liberals bave scattered copies of this appeal far and wide amongst the workers at ye-elections, among the miners of Hanley, Cartarthen, and Midlothian, and they use the Labour signatories as bait wherewith to lure the workers in to vote for the Single Taxers.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain frankly and fearlessly oppose all these land reformers. We hold that there is no essential difference, from a toiler's point of view between the absentee landlord and the absentee shareholder. The "unearned increment" that capitalist and landlord share between them is gained by the robbery of the working class in the field, factory, mill, mine, and workshop, and there is no argument against the plundering landlord that does not apply to the ever-plundering capitalist. As long as the employing class own the means of production the toilers will battle in vain for a larger share of the world's wealth. The only remedy is for the workers to own and work in common the land, factories, railways, etc.

The path to power is contained in the policy of the Socialist Party. Join it and work for its. triumph. A. Kohn.

WOMEN AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

WHY should the women workers join the S.P.G.B.? This is a question often asked by those outside any particular organisation, whose general idea re woman is, that "her place is at

Socialism, it must be remembered, is not the name of a political party, but a term applied to a certain state of society. It is not a "measure" to be placed on the Statute Book in bits (as our Labour representatives would have us believe), but an economic development. It is not a movement exclusively for the "bettering of the conditions of the working man," but a transformation of society-which transformation will mean the abolition of all classes. and must be the work of the working class itself.

Under the present regime of capitalist production, woman finds herself in the labour market, as a seller of labour-rower, upon the sale of which her livelihood aepends. She, therefore, is a wage-slave, and because of this ought to be with those who are fighting for the abolition of such slavery, and the establishment of Socialism. That is the predominant reason why women should join the Socialist Party-Socialism is their only hope, and for Socialism should be

The adherents to the Christain religion would have women believe that their position in society has been considerably elevated through the influence of that religious teaching. But if women will read the religious history of this or any other country they will discover that religion has always been on the side of their repression, and has been, in fact, one of the greatest agents in their subjection.

Today, in Christain England, thousands of our women are sweated and bled for the satistence of a certain class of women who live by faction of the greed of the capitalist. The exismeans repulsive even to themselves, is a living indictment of capitalism. Prostitution is intensely aggravated by the present regime of industry, and is, in fact, a sine qua non of capitalist production.

Woman under capitalism is not what the poets so glibly tell us. She is a poor, sweated wage-slave. Her maternal instincts are suppressed, her nature is cramped, her mind is warped, her lot is the lot of the slave from birth

Socialism is the only system of society under which equality of sex will obtain. It is the only system where woman will be able to fulfil her her true destiny; in which her life will be able to blend and harmonise with the life of the community; in which her faculties will find full expression and her nature real manifestation.

We appeal to the women of our class to shun the calls and the traps of the capitalist profitmongers, to refute the false optimistic gabble of the parson, to realise their true class position in society, and to augment the band of wageslaves who have realised that they "bave nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to win.'

IMPORTANT NOTICE The Party's Head Office is now at 193, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W.C. LABOUR PARTY S 'DRAMATIC MOVE.'

The "independence" of the Labour Party and their "hostile" attitude to the capitalist class are ably demonstrated by the following

"The Labour Party yesterday decided upon a dramatic move in connection with the pending bye-election at Hanley and Crewe. Unless the Liberal candidates in the two constituencies are withdrawn the remaining members of the party will follow to support their nominees. The Government would thus be deprived of 44 votes which it has been able to count upon in all serious trials of strength with the Opposition."—" Daily Chronicle," 3.7.12.

That the absence of the Labour Party from the House of Commons will mean a loss of 44 votes to the Government can be explained only by the fact that their action differs in no way from that of an admitted Liberal. If a given number of Liberals-no matter by what name they call themselves-leave the House, the strength of the Government is for the time being reduced; but should they be opponents who absent themselves, the position of the party in office will be strengthened.

The "Labour Leader," in referring to the late member for Hanley, gave all the explanation required to account for their faithful support of the present Government. They said in their issue of July 10th:-

"Mr. Edwards was first returned to Parliament as a Liberal, and he used the Liberal electoral machinery; therefore the seat is claimed as Liberal—despite the fact that Mr. Edwards has acted with the Labour Party since

He owed his seat to Liberal support, and consequently acted as a Liberal. The same applies to all other so-called Labour members-they accept the Liberal programme in order to secure Liberal votes and support.

The fact that Mr. Edwards has acted with the Labour Party since 1910 is considered sufficient by them to uphold their claim upon Hanley as a Labour seat. If we follow this argument to its logical conclusion, the Labour Party, by acting with the present Government since 1906 not to mention their previous actions—give the Liberals every claim, not only to Hanley, but to every other Labour seat.

leading article in the "Daily Chronicle" 4.7.12.) puts the position in very few words:—

"On the three occasions on which he contested Hanley and won Mr. Edwards stood as a Labour man. Of course he had the support of the Liberal element, and the backing of the Liberal organisation, and undoubtedly he represented Liberalism as ably and well as he represented Labour.'

If we delete the last word of the quotation, and substitute "Enoch Edwards," there is no comment to be passed upon the statement.

The same article also pays a tribute to the new Labour candidate.

"There is, too, this consideration—the probable Labour nominee, Mr. S. Finney, is a man of the Edwards stamp, thoroughly reliable and moderate. It is not as though Liberal support was asked for for an extremist and an untried

To say that Mr. S. Finney is of the Edwards stamp is another way of informing their readers that he is a Liberal, and is thoroughly "reliable" in his support of the Liberal Government, when they murder workers in the interest of the master class.

They never fail who die In a great cause: the block may soak their gore; Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs Be strung to city gates and castle wal!s-But still their spirit walks abroad. Tho' years Elapse, and others share as dark a doom. They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts

Which overpower all others and conduct The world at last to freedom.

MANGLING DONE HERE.

September, 1912

WHICH IS THE BIGGER HELL? [To THE EDITOR]

SIR, - Being of a very critical turn of mindof those misguided mortals who want a lot of convincing -I always scan your brilliant journal for something to attack. I must admit that it is usually very hard to find a weak spot, but I think you have given an opening in your article on "Peru and England." To put it briefly, it seems to me that you spoil your case by exag-

With your first column, dealing with the Peruvian atrocities, I have no quarrel. The second may also pass unsinged through the fire of criticism. Now we come to the third column, in which occurs the following sentence:

"Notwithstanding that the method is different, the violation at home is as brutal and as shameful as that in Peru."

This seems exaggeration run mad! It is surely, more than a difference of method. women in England murdered and raped wholesale? Are women in England, or men even, denied the means of subsistence in return for their labour - power? Generally speaking, are the workers forced to perform tasks beyond their physical capacity? If not, what becomes of your parallel" with Peru? You contend that in England if a member of the proletariat wants to live he or she must live on the master's terms and by his consent. It must surely have been a rhetorical heat-wave that caused you to over look the existence of the Poor Law. The S.P.G.B. has said over and over again that no one need starve who is willing to apply for relief. Does this alternative exist in Peru? In England, even prostitution is preferable to starvation. In many cases it is considered more attractive than hard monotonous toil. To a certain extent it might be regarded as a necessity of our monogamic system-but this is rather a digression from the

When you remark towards the end of the article, that the "other atrocities" have "their parallels in any capitalist country," it is fairly evident that your imagination is again playing tricks with your reason. "Let us be clear in our comparison. Let us get the true perspective. Agreed.—Yours, D. A. CONROY.

Misguided mortal, what was contained in the article you criticise is so strange to your critical mind that it seems to you to be "exaggeration Well, Mr. Conroy, I only expected that it would appear to be so to a certain number who seem to be utterly unable to realise the actual conditions under which their class exist.

Are women in England murdered and raped wholesale, you asked. What I said with regard to girls working in factories and offices is suffi cient answer (if it is true) as to rape. It is a fact widely known, though the critical mind which wants such a "lot of convincing," may never give it credence. It is, as I pointed out in the article, supported by the fact that provision is made for its interdiction in a recently proposed Parliamentary Bill. This is the obstinate and awkward point you should have attacked.

As to murder, the instances I gave of whole sale murder were those of men -shunters and miners. But what do you want? Is it worse for women to be murdered than men, that you must challenge me to set against the slaughter of Peruvian women the murder of women in England? If that is it there is no difficulty. The days of 'phossy jaw" are not quite over yet, and tales are told in the potteries that would make an Indian woman's flesh creep. But in many trades in England women are being murdered by the conditions of their labour-conditions made and enforced by the masters.

You, evidently, view these things from the standpoint of the bourgeois coroner's jury, who find every death sanctioned by capitalist laws. to be a "natural" death or "misadventure." So it is only "natural" death when some poor working lass dies of starvation. And it is purely a case of misadventure when several girls are burnt to death through being made to work in a room full of slow guncotton (they call it celluloid but it is a form of guncotton) with naked lights | physical power, but her sex also. about, and no adequate means of escape.

difference between being roasted to death on the top of a City warehouse to save the English capitalist the expense of making provision for safety, and being roasted to death in a Peruvian forest. Perhaps it lies in the comforting assurance of one of the witnesses at the London inquest that these things cannot be helped because celluloid is used in nearly every trade. Which means, of course, that if only one or two women were in danger something might be done, but since thousands are in danger, it would cost too much to protect them, and they must take their chance of some workingman hero being able to get the blazing celluloid out of the window. Certainly it is "more than a difference of

methods.' This writer has not said that it was not. The conditions are different and the results are different. But it is violation all the same, and as brutal and shameful in the English method as in the Peruvian. You say that "in England, even prostitution is preferable to starvation," and ask if the alternative of Poor Law relief exists in Peru. Probably not-certainly not in the district we are concerned with. But if the implication is that the whip used in Peru is starvation, and that since this is thought, in England, to be worse than prostitution, it must be a terrible thing in Peru, then you are wrong. Starvation is not the whip in Peru. Sheen brutality is what drives the Indians to work. On the other hand, this starvation, which you so subtly reveal in all its hideousness, is the weapon used in England, as you admit when you say that prostitution is preferred to it.

But what else have you said, Mr. Conroy You have unwittingly said that the British capitalists have made their alternative to starvation - the Poor Law-less attractive "even" than prostitution! And since you say that none need starve who are willing to apply for relief, and it is undeniable that many do starve, you show that the Poor Law alternative is (for many) worse 'even" than starvation! What "rhetorical' phenomenon was it that put the Poor Law bogey

Your "digression from the main issue" just suffices to enable you to "put your foot in it' again, for certainly prostitution may not be regarded, even "to a certain extent," as a necessity of our monogamous system. Do you realise that prostitution involves sale? Whatever sexual relations may be ascribed to "our monogamic system," sale cannot. Prostitution is a necessity of our capitalist system

And if, as you say, it is sometimes considered more attractive than hard, monotonous toil (a statement that to me only shows the awful mis ery of the latter, and does not one iota lessen the horror of the former), then, as I have before pointed out, in thousands of cases prostitution offers no escape from "hard, monotonous toil," but goes with it! This is, in part, the answer to your question whether women in England are denied the means of subsistence i return for their labour-power. They are indeed in vast numbers. For all their hard and mono tonous toil they have, not exceptionally, but generally, to find some means of supplementing their wages. Their male relatives may come to their rescue, but often enough the question has to be faced whether 'even prostitution is preferable to starvation," and sometimes it has to be prostitution, and sometimes slow, but certain, starvation.

The parallels in this connection between England and Peru are startlingly close. The Indian is forced to labour, and has to partly provide his own means of livelihood while doing so. The English factory girl, shop assistant, and so on, also are forced to work, and have (as reference to the wages paid in many "women's trades" will show) to provide in part their own means of subsistence while doing so. Yet there is a difference - not overlooked by me, but by you, my friend. The delights of prostitution are not open to the Indian women, hence when the exploiter has exhausted the physical powers of his victim (whether in actually working rubber or in obtaining the necessaries of life to enable her to do it makes not the slightest difference) he is at the end of his tether as an exploiter. In England, however, by paying such low wages that they will not suffice for a woman to reproduce her labour power, he not only exploits her is pointless, not only as regards "our male bre

Perhaps you, friend Conroy, can explain the sex or one section, but upon the broader basis strong. We succumb.

of the general condition. That general condition is indicated by the admission that there are in this country always thirteen millions of people on the verge of hunger. This is no question unemployment. This is indicative of men and women in England being "denied the means of subsistence in return for their labourpower." They work and starve.

But since it seems that your chivalrous nature can only appraise female suffering, let me ask if you have ever walked through London at midnight, and seen women, old and grey and home less, sitting on the doorsteps, huddled bundles of misery, waiting for the dawn-no, not for the dawn, for there can be no hope for them in that -waiting for death? I will not ask if you can imagine any more poignant picture of suffering and desolate despair in Peruvian forests, for such depths of human anguish it is not for either you or me to sound.

Finally, workers in England are not "forced to perform tasks beyond their physical capacity.' If they are in Peru, then the answer to your query as to what becomes of my parallel is, give me the invisible paint that I may hide myself.

ARE POLITICS FUTILE?

E. J. Higgins (Philadelphia) writes :-

"I hold that the control of the murder machinery of the master classes in human society is not, as you say, 'put into their hands by the votes of the workers.' In the first place, the power of repression was with the master classes before the workers had votes; and in the second place, no matter how the workers voted for political power,' they could not 'capture' it, because power is not a thing that can be 'captured ' by votes, but must be generated through industrial organisation. This real power of the workers will not spend its time trying to 'cap ture' the State, but will render the State impotent through the workers' control of industry.

"The very absence of even an equal suffrage to-day amongst our male brethren, to say nothing of women and children who are disfranchised, renders your position somewhat difficult

It is quite true that the "power of repression was with the master classes before the workers had votes." But material development, with the alterations in the material conditions, made the ruling class adopt a Constitution -- a charter which provides for the consent of citizens to the policy of those in power. Hence it is, alas ! only too true that "the murder machinery" is "put into their (the masters') hands by the votes of the workers." as the latter hold more than twothirds of the voting power. You say that "power" is not a thing to be captured by votes, yet our masters spend a great deal of time and money in securing that power through getting a majority of votes.

Section after section of the employing class have struggled to get hold of this power that you depreciate without rhyme or reason. And as that political power does give to those who control it, the supreme command of social affairs, all social struggles have been and must continue to be, waged around the possession o this political power.

How can "industrial organisation generate power"? History is very explicit on the fact that power has rested with those who comman ded the political machinery, but where does history record that power has been generated through "industrial organisation"? It is a pity that our "anti-political" critics do not tell us what the power is that can be generated in this way. If they mean power to destroy, power to paralyse general industry (and themselves), then it can be granted but that disposes of their case. For if they are unable to carry on production uninterrupted, they are manifestly powerless to take and hold the means of life You say they will render the State impotent, but we still await information as to how that can be done. Can you render the "murder machiners impotent? Or if not, can you control it by other means? Until you do control the "murder machinery" you cannot "control industry."

Your last remark, reabsence of equal suffrage thren." but also as regards female women, and The case, however, does not turn upon one your point that children are disfranchised is too

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions fo the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Gravs Inn Road, London, , to whom Money Orders should be made payable THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last

Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Wead Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS. UNITED KINGDOM. Twelve Months ... AMERICA. Twelve Months

The Socialist Standard,



THE 'TITANIC" AND AFTER.

On August 1st the Report of the Commission of enquiry into the "Titanic" disaster was made public. As was to be expected from this lawyer job, the verdict is that really nobody is to blame. The Board of Trade, itself deeply involved, arranged and dominated the enquiry. The Commission was presided over by Lord Mersey—of whom, of course, little could be expected. The whitewasher of the Jameson raid, the man who "fined" a rich woman who was guilty of the most villainous and inhuman acts against a little child-this "Penruddock" hero, who for many years was lawyer to some of the largest Liverpool shipowners, what could be expected of him but a colourless report, without prejudice to capitalist welfare?

The facts shown by the enquiry were obviously these: That the "Titanic" was driven through a very dangerous ice-field at the highest speed attained—twenty three knots. That when the fateful collision occurred the boats on board were woefully insufficient to carry even the passengers, to say nothing of the crew. That. in the words of Mr. Bruce Ismay's millionaire fellow traveller, Mr. Carter, the first class passengers were given the preference in getting into the boats. That deck gardens and swimming baths for first class passengers occupied those places where other boats might have been. That no boat drill or skilled men to handle the boats were provided. That 139 out of 144 first class women and every first class child were rescued, while 81 third class women and 53 third class children went down. That 1.503 human beings perished.

What does Lord Mersey say? "The third class passengers were not unfairly treated." That Bruce Ismay, Sir Cosmo Gordon, and other lights of the master class are innocent of the charges brought against them. Did Lord Mersey indict those who run both the White Star Line and the Board of Trade? Did he point out that most of the members of the Advisory Committee of the Board were shipowners? Did he return a verdict of murder, or even of manslaughter against the capitalists who, with their "organising ability," own and control the world's resources? All these must be answered in the negative. Since the disaster the White Star Line has declared a dividend of 60 per cent.. Mrs. John Jacob Astor has brought into the world a baby worth millions, and above all, the working class have forgotten all about it.

The most definite result of the enquiry is that £17.500 has been shared among the lawyers and Labour leaders on the Commission

The Socialist Party, however, will keep green the memory of those fellow workers murdered

"ABOUT IT AND ABOUT."

AGAIN "our" trade is up. "Our" exports to British possessions and foreign countries for the year 1911 is £556,878,432 as compared with £517,977,167 in 1907. That is according to the 'Daily Telegraph' (23.8.12). And, "turning to 'our' import side the figures are again expanding, having increased by over 34 millions during the same period."

Ah! these millions. They take one's breath away. But where is our prosperity? What does it mean when "trade is so brisk?" By the expenditure of our muscle and the skill of our brain we are producing vaster and ever vaster stores of wealth. In all branches of industry men, women, and children are being maimed and sweated to draw more wealth from nature. On every hand machines are introduced to wring from mother earth still more and more good things. And for whom and for what are these good things? Are these multitudinous machines lightening the labours of a single worker? Do they give the toiler one iota more of his product? Not a bit of it. Such is not the purpose of wealth production to day.

Machinery is used to compel the women and children to go into the factory in order to enable the factory-owner to exploit the whole family instead of, as at one time, the male adult only. Machinery is used to speed up the producer, and is set up alongside of him in a horrible race. The toiler must keep up with it or die.

About a hundred and fifty years ago the factory system started on its detined path. It was oushed forward with terrible determination. During the time that has elapsed since then more mechanical contrivances have been invented than ever before. In this period wealth has sprung from mother earth like water from a spring. Every day sees many improvementsthe completion of many contrivances the purpose of which is, not to save the exhausting toil if the workers, but to speed them up the more The faster the machine goes the faster the hand must go, and when he is unable to keep the pace he must go outside.

The "New York Tribune" last May recorded the introduction of "a magnet that can lift five and a half tons. This contrivance is dropped with great force on scrap metal to be broken up for remelting. "It breaks the metal into convenient small pieces, which are lifted up and down by the magnet until the scrap is reduced to the proper size. Then the invisible fingers of the magnet gather up the pieces and carry them to the melting furnace. The entire operation is performed in one hundredth of the time formerly required by manual labour. A single machine of this character will displace half a hundred workmen."

What has the introduction of such machines done for the toilers? Has their load been lightened? Not a little bit; in fact, it is the competition of the "iron worker" that has forced the flesh and blood "hand" to work for lower wages, and compelled his wife and children to enter the factory in a vain attempt to increase the family income. Some may try to make it appear as a good thing. Children can work the machine and get wages, and so increase the standard of living, they will say. But this is not so. Capital does not work for the toiler in that way, and any advantage from improved

machinery goes to the owners of that machinery. It is a well-known fact that children become a burden to the average working class parents after a certain age. The wage paid is not sufficient to keep a number of adults. They must be forced into the factory. The wage paid is just sufficient to maintain the worker and enable him to reproduce future wage-earners, and their economic position forces them on the market.

While 99 per cent. of children attend dayschool (England and Wales) at the age of 11, at the age of 14 years the figures drop to 22 per cent. and at 16 years to 6 per cent. It is because the income is so low that the child is forced to go to work at an early age. The speeding up of wealth production calls for it. Capital

requires profit and capital must have profit. Is there any need to dwell upon the subject? profits, in the only way that can be worthy Is it not obvious that all this talk about "our men, women, and children are being slaughtered of them— in an unremitting struggle to advance volume of trade" and "increasing production in the interest of the profit-seeking capitalist. the day when these things shall be done no vity" is a matter of importance only to those

production? While trade booms the workersstarve. It was ever so under the present system. The horrors perpetrated by the early capitalists of 1750 onward continue now in different form. As Gibbins points out in his "Industrial Histery of England": "The manufacturers wanted cheap labour and they got it by some means or another." They got it by sweating little children purchased as slaves from the workhouses of this country. Many a noble industrial concern is built upon the bloody profits wrung from these pauper children, who were worked sixteen hours a day, day and night, Sundays included. The manufacturers want cheap labour now, and the manufacturers will get it somehow or otherthey are getting it.

According to Gibbins and others children were sold in those days under the condition that the manufacturer took one idiot with twenty sane children. From the "Daily Chronicle" we get the information that the children at the Strand Union School are in a deplorable condition. "One child, a boy thirteen years old, had been in the schools for over four years. He was 4ft lin. high, and weighed 3st 13lbs." One of the guardians remarked that "the longer they stayed the worse they got." No doubt the Strand and other Unions would be glad to palm off some of their defectives as job lots since it takes such a time to kill them!

Dr. A. E. Thomas, Medical Officer of Health for Finsbury, refers to the home workers in that district in his annual report, and it seems that while "two or three who were entirely dependent on this kind of employment received about 12/6 per week, the average wage is 4/6 per week. Thus do we derive the benefits of the boom in trade. Dr. Bailie, Medical Superintendant of Health for Belfast, in his report says:-

"It is to be regretted that no improvement has been noted in the rate of payment given to outworkers in the city .. far too low. In the last week of December, for instance, a woman was observed embroidering small dots on cushion covers: there were 300 dots on each cushion, and for sewing these by hand she received the sum of one penny. She said that for a day's work of this kind she would have difficulty in making 6d. Nor is this an exceptional case. Quite recently our inspector was shown handkerchiefs which were ornamented by a design in dots: these dots were counted, and it was found that the workers had to sew 384 dots for a penny. . One penny per hour is the ordinary rate, and in many cases it falls below this."-Chronicle." 29.4.12.

From this and other reports it is plain that the hand workers of Belfast, in their competitive fight with the gaint machine, are suffering hellish conditions. Day after day of toil for a mere pittance that simply allows for an occasional

'meal" of bread and tea.
Dr. J. C. Thrash, Medical Officer for Essex, says ("Daily Chronicle" 24.8.12):-

"The dearth of decent cottages is reducing the marriage rate, and increasing attention given to the sanitary condition of cottages is causing cottage owners to object to tenants with large families. Many cottages are barely fit for human habitation. human habitation. . . . Overcrowding occurs, immorality is fostered, and infectious diseases spread."

On all hands we find the toiler crushed both by the privately owned machine and the privately owned wealth of an idle class, held by that class to the detriment of those who toil year by year to produce it. The disease is so dread yet the remedy is so plain. Charity is futile, for it pays the wage of the sweating employer. Reforms of all sorts are found to act in the same way. The workers of Belfast know that their lot will not be one whit the better because of the passing of the Home Rule Bill. The private ownership of the tools we use; the private ownership of the machines that grind us; the private ownership of the food we want and the land we must have: these are the causes. Politicians may talk of war in Ulster and Belfast. They can set worker against worker in a sham reli gious or political fight, but all the time profits are being ground out of the working class, and

Let the workers wake to their true interest who own the land and the instruments of wealth Leave taxation and the rest of the robber busi

ness to be fought out by the robbers themselves and see to it that you understand why you are poor, how you are robbed, and then organise to stop the robbery. Cease to be fools; capture the political power and turn out the rogues.

September, 1912.

THE REAL UNREST.

APART from the many leading articles in Liberal newspapers deploring the "wasteful conflicts between Capital and Labour, many politicians, would be sociologists, and clergymen have written articles and taken part in controversies in the columns of the capitalist Press. The continual strikes and agitation of large sections of the workers appear to our rulers as indications of the existence of some potential force that may at any moment become active and destructive.

The loose utterances of irresponsible tradeunion leaders seem to connect the intensified industrial struggles of late years with Syndicalism, which most writers deem revolutionary. The real unrest is therefore among the capitalists, who, unable to ascertain the extent of revolutionary feeling among the working class, become uneasy as strikes spread and involve large sections of the workers, who make no secret of their hatred of the capitalist class.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in a series of letters to the "Daily Chronicle." hastens to reassure the ruling class of the insignificance of Syndicalism. He denies the existence of the class struggle, vet uses all his rhetoric to prove that the Labour Party methods are more effective in that struggle than Syndicalism. First an emphatic denial of its existence, then advice to the workers to adopt their method in fighting it out.

He next informs us that "no one who believes in the class struggle has any refuge to protect himself from Syndicalism. Given the class war. Syndicalism is its necessary corollary. The working class consciously using the political machine does not seem to strike him as an alternative to Syndicalism-as a course of action perfectly consistent with a belief in, or recognition of, the class struggle.

Like Mr. Macdonald, Mr. and Mrs. Webb only succeed in exposing the absurdity of their claim to call themselves Socialists. To assert that trade unions "will still be necessary under So cialism, and will only then attain their highest development," proves that they do not understand Socialism to be a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of living. If they did they could not conceive of the necessity for organisations whose function is to struggle for improved conditions against another class in society.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb entirely shirk the problem of to-day by jumping into the future—a future where the most important details will be, superior persons with large brains - Fabianesque brains-on whom society will depend for guid-

Russel Smart, too, evades the question we are concerned with here: how to abolish the present system and establish some other-in his case Syndicalism. He ignores the class war by taking refuge in Utopia. He says of Syndicalism: 'Its true function is to undertake the production and exchange of tangible commodities-that is, all those forms of wealth which people can handle, use, and consume." Thereby assuming in academic fashion, the existence of Syndicalism, and shirking the problem of its establishment.

Incidentally he sets out to define a commodity, but only succeeds in displaying his ignorance. Clearly, things that we handle, use, and consume. are merely forms of wealth. It does not occur to him that only wealth produced for exchange has the commodity character. A course of economics might make Russel Smarter.

Mr. H. G. Wells complains that Socialists contribute nothing in the shape of details with regard to the future organisation of society. He dismisses the Socialist object as "A Socialism featureless as smoke." He forgets that capitalism was featureless in its "embryonic" stages, that its growth and development have given rise to the absolutely repulsive features t terise it to-day, and make it abhorrent to the mass of the people and ripe for destruction.

contemporaries, did not discuss or predict the to this method.

modern factories, sweating dens, slums, adulterated food, unemployment, trusts and combines. These features appeared with the growth of

They, as a class, never troubled themselves about the details. They were feeling their way to power, and having achieved their object, they used their power to oppress the class beneath them- the working class, which in its turn is revolutionary.

Mr. Weils understands something of all this, for he speaks of revolutionary tendencies. He first hopes they may be turned, but then is 'afraid that it is too late.' After having shown quite clearly that his sympathies are with the ruling class he affects a subline disregard for all such vulgar things as the class war. He says the Socialist "has to realise the enormous moral difficulty there is in bringing people who have been prosperous all their lives, to the pitch of even contemplating a social re-organisation that may minimise or destroy their precedence." The Socialist, of course, does not expect the ruling class to re organise society, so the "moral difficulty" is outside the question. Imagine a docker, however intelligent, trying moral persuasion on Lord Devonport!

The Socialist is alive to the fact that those who are prosperous to day will resent what they call confiscation; but he regards the means of life as the common inheritance of the human When the working class are sufficiently powerful to take them they will do so-and call restitution.

To sum up, Mr. Wells pooh-poohs the class war, because to him the working class is a mere sullen mob, incapable of intelligent and concerted action directed toward their freedom. The Webbs, together with Russel Smart, are deeply engrossed in their Utopias, building Syndicalist and Fabian commonwealths out of capitalist ideals, and believing implicitly in their own seriousness. Ramsay Macdonald denies the existence of the class struggle because it is part of his duty as a capitalist agent to gloss over the conflicting interests between the two classes. He favoured contributions by the workers under the Insurance scheme, because it 'made the Bill communal and not class," thereby encouraging the belief that the two classes were jointly organising a scheme for the benefit of the sick and unemployed.

In Parliament Mr. Macdonald is invariably constitutional. If he supports a measure it is, he says, because it will strengthen the Constitu-He says: "To-day our Labour Party stands approved by the experience of every constitutionally governed State, and by comparison with any other Socialist and Labour Party on the globe." In other words, it has the approval of the capitalist class, because they can rely on it to mislead the workers.

Those who have attempted to explain the socalled unrest have failed because the elementary fact, without which any discussion is incomplete, has been omitted. Any reference to the merchandise character of human labour-power has been excluded, not by oversight or accident, but by design. Its inclusion would make apparent the antagonism of interests between buyers and sellers. Disputes and strikes, however violent or widespread, merely show the efforts of the opponents to fix the price of labour power. Economic laws and development have been on the side of the buyers, hence the workers have suffered reduction in price, or in wages. This reduction they resist - and this is the secret of their "unrest." And while the commodity nature continues impressed on the workers, the struggle will flourish with more or

The irony of the situation lies in the fact that the workers should continue to waste their energies struggling for sops or palliatives, when the votes they possess and their freedom to organise in a political party would ensure their triumph over their oppressors. When the fran-chise was granted to the workers, the course of action for the latter was obvious - it was to organise themselves in a political party to get control of the political machine, and of the forces that keep them in subjection while they

This is still the only practical method before the workers, and the S.P.G.B. is the only gen-Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell, with their | uine working class party because it alone points

THE "HUSTLING" PROCESS. ---- 0:0

"The prime purpose of bonus systems as applied to factories is to speed up production.

The above is an outstanding sentence from an article in a back number of "The Organiser," a magazine which is published with the object of introducing the most up to date methods of exploiting the workers. These methods, needless to say, are shaped to win the approval of workers directly concerned, consequently ensuring a greater measure of success from the capi-

The article indicates clearly that the theory of the bonus system is much the same as that of the "high wages" system. It is that it is more economical, and therefore more profitable, to employ highly skilled, intensive labour at a comparatively high rate of wages than slack. low-skilled labour at a comparatively low rate. Therefore it is essential that the bonus system should have a "voluntary" foundation.

The worker can try for the bonus or not, just as he pleases. If he is unwilling or unable to earn the extra money that is his affair, though "the manager would, no doubt, try to weed out such men as occasion offered, in favour of more energetic workers."

Mark it well, although the system is voluntary, if you do not go for that bonus which is placed so temptingly before you, you will be weeded out.

The intention of the employers is that the worker shall try for the bonus, otherwise the system is a failure from his point of view.

When dealing with the Bethleham Steel Co., U S.A., the writer mentions that with the increased output due to the greater efficiency that has resulted from the introduction of the bonus system, the market is more easily flooded, and eventually the bonus hunting worker has to seek fresh fields in which to pursue the elusive "bonus." In other words, he has to look for another job. Thus we see that this system, worked on an extensive scale, can only result in swelling the ranks of the unemployed -which, in turn, would have a tendency to depreciate wages-in which, after all, bonuses are included

"The foreman received a bonus on each bonusearning man in his shop, and a considerably increased bonus (half as much again) if all the men were receiving bonuses-a clever device which ensured that the foreman should interest himself in educating up the less skillful men to a high standard, so that there should be no slack-. . . so that they worked with a will without wasting time."

It is evident from the foregoing quotations that the employer is not giving something for nothing. If your wages are increased by from one to five per cent. by the bonus system, you may depend upon it that it is conditional upon you increasing your output considerably beyond that point.

Fellow workers, we call upon you to seriously consider your position and avoid the blind alleys into which the capitalists and their henchmen would turn you. We ask you to study the principles advocated by the Socialist Party, and (if you agree with them) to join us, so that the workers, thus organised, will be able to take control, through their political power, of the means by which they live, and relegate the queer and useless pastime of bonus hunting to the limbo of the past.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

T. SAWYER Balham ! - It is true that when Socialism is established the need for army and navy will have dis appeared. Your point as to the intervention of other capitali t countries has no bearing, for S cialism is info national. It is a movement of a class that knows no national boundaries, because it is to replace one that occupies an international area. The present system is so interdependent in its relations, and the master class so well organised internationally, that only an international alternative could succeed. You give no reasons why Socialism "can't come all over the world at once." Socialism is growing up inter-nationally, and though its coming may not synchro-nise to the moment everywhere, it will be instituted internationally in the same period. Hyndman and Blatchford know that armies and navies are needed under capitalism to keep the workers down, K

L. SHEARSTONE Nottingham . - Next month.

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM.

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

APHORISM IV.

As in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race

THE Aphorism speaks of "the order of social evolution." The phrase shall be the startingpoint of this explanation.

Society has not always been divided into the same classes that it comprises to-day. The present class division, as was shown in dealing with our first aphorism, is based entirely on the private ownership of the means of life. On this is erected the class distinction, and from it flow the class characteristics. Only this private own ership by a section could, for instance, have developed a wage slave class (not a class who occasionally work for wages, but a class who have no other means of living than by working for wages).

But previous to the present social system other social systems have existed, upon other bases, and with other classes ruling and ruled

Under the foudal system, for instance, the feudal nobility ruled, basing their power upon a certain qualified control of the land. Under the classic States based upon chattel-slavery, a class of slave-owners ruled.

But the constant feature of society ever since it has had the class formation -that is ever since classes have existed—has been that the ruling classes have controlled the dominating factor in production.

Under chattel slavery it was slaves, against whose labour the free men could not, partly from pride and partly from their liability to military service, compete. The feudal nobility of the middle ages had but partial control of the land, hence their dominance was never very complete Indeed, in England the serfs managed to throw off the shackles of serfdom and gain a position which, though still subservient, was similar to that of the free Roman citizen of the poorer class, but without the incubus of slave labour to drag them down to ruin.

But against this persistent feature of class society is the constant characteristic of the democratic societies which preceded them -the means of living belonged to no one: they were oper to all.

This gives us the key to the aphorism. With out private property, without privileges in the means of living, there can be no class distinction or class domination.

The emancipation of the working class, therefore, since it can only be accomplished by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, leaves nothing to form the basis of domination Thus it follows that the emancipation of the working class must end class domination, and must involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

APHORISM V.

This emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

Before the present social system came into existence the feudal nobility were the ruling class. But it was characteristic of the feudal system (as of any system that was capable of any other ending than ruin and chaos), that the do minant class under it could not prevent the rise to power of a new class. The source of this was largely in the towns, where surplus products of a "non-perishable" nature were produced, which fell into the hands of a class who made commerce their business.

The sources of the merchants' wealth were capable of much greater extension than those o the nobles, partly because the produce of the reign of James I. the expropriated peasantry country districts, being more perishable than were subjected to like enactments. those of the towns, did not lend themselves so

readily to international commerce, and partly because the serf, having rights in the land, was chiefly producing goods for his own consumption, and only working for a strictly limited time for his feudal superior, while the handicraftsman of the town was already producing commodities - goods produced for sale.

It was quite in the nature of things that with the increasing productivity of labour the capitalist side of production-the production of commodities by wage-labour should tend to increase rapidly, and certain geographical discoveries (the way to the East round the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America) gave tremendous impetus to this side of industrial development. The laws and restrictions placed upon commerce and production -partly feudal, partly customary to the different trades - pressed heavily upon the rising class, and so it was natural that as their wealth and power increased they should direct their attention toward gain-

ing social supremacy. As the new class rose the serfs gradually rose from servitude also, and long before the merchant forerunners of the modern capitalist class had achieved ruling power, serfdom had ceased to exist in this country. The serfs had shaken themselves free of most of their feudal shackles and stood now as independent peasant-proprie-

But the rising capitalist class could only elevate themselves on the backs of this class of free peasants. It was from their ranks, chiefly, that they looked to recruit that abundance of cheap labourers they desired for their factories. Already the break-up of the bands of retainers of the feudal nobility had supplied great numbers, and the dissolution of the monasteries had set free a great many more, but still the factories cried for other workers, and only the class of peasant-proprietors could supply the needed ncrease.

Events, however, proved favourable to the needs of the capitalists. An enormous demand for wool had sprung up, and in consequence the land began to wear a different aspect in the eyes of the aristocracy. It presented a means of keeping sheep, and hence of acquiring great wealth. Unfortunately, the peasant proprietors were in the way. The small agriculturists, whom the capitalists so badly wanted in the factories. and whose fields the aristocrats coveted, were clearly altogether out of place upon the land. That was a matter that the capitalist class and their feudal opponents could agree upon, for all their class antagonism.

So the two combined to drive the peasants from the soil. At first they were dispossessed of their fields without troubling about any legal form, but later the classes interested passed under various pretexts, legislation which made the expropriation of the peasants more swift. They were hunted out by troops, their dwellings were burnt to the ground, and their lands were appropriated by the great landlords and laid down in pasture for sheep.

The legislation passed against the dispossessed peasants makes terrible reading. They were expropriated at a rate far too rapid even for the rapidly growing capitalist industry to absorb them, hence their presence on the earth was inconvenient and unwelcome. Laws were passed therefore, aiming at the wiping out of the surplus. Under Henry VIII. (see Karl Marx's

Capital," Chap. XXVIII) sturdy vagabonds were to be tied to the cart tail and whipped until the blood ran in streams from their bodies. For the second offence of vagabondage the whipping was to be repeated and half the ear sliced off. For the third relapse the offender was to be executed as a hardened criminal. Under Edward VI. it was ordained that if anyone refused to work he was to be condemned in slavery to the person who denounced him as an idler. If he was absent for a fortnight he was to be branded on the forehead or back with a letter S and became a slave for life. If he ran away three times he was to be executed as a felon. Under Elizabeth similar laws were made. For the first offence a whipping and branding, unless someone would take them into service for two years; for the second offence execution unless someone would take them into service for two years; for the offence execution without mercy. In the

the reign of Henry VIII, while Strype records that in Elizabeth's time "rogues [those, for the most part, who had been robbed of their land were trussed up apace, and that there was not one year commonly wherein three or four hundred were not devoured and eaten up by the gallowes." The same individual states that in Somersetshire alone in one year 40 persons were executed

These laws, and many others which cannot be mentioned here, remained in force even as late as the beginning of the 18th century, while in France for three quarters of a century later laws as severe were active against the workers.

Other periods of history show the same bloody repression of subject classes by ruling classes, even from the dawn of written history. And the savage suppression and avenging of the Paris Commune of 1871, together with numerous examples at Barcelona, Moscow, and elsewhere on the Continent, at Pittsburg and Lawrence in America, and at Featherstone and Tonypandy in England, of recent years, show that the same factor which we see running through all written history still persists. That factor is the life and death struggle between the classes.

This teaches us that with classes, however it may be in exceptional, individual cases, economic interests govern actions. Convinced of this, and holding to it as a guiding principle, and knowing, moreover, that the interests of the master class are diametrically opposed to those of the working class, we assert that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself.

This, of course, does not preclude the possibility of some few members of the master class rising superior to their environment and their class interests, and rendering good service to the workers' cause. Capitalists, like workers, are human, which is why, as a class, they are actuated by their class interests. But for the same reason individual capitalists may be moved by any other human emotion, even to the extent of taking up the battle of the oppressed class.

The difficulties in the way of their doing so, however, are stupendous. Their outlook upon life is entirely different to that of the workers. No other system of society ever lent itself more to illusion than the present one. No other system ever so effectually concealed the chains of bondsmen and so artfully surrounded slaves with the atmosphere of freedom. The position of the chattel-slave was always very clear, indeed t appeared that he got nothing for his labour. he, at all events, never starved, and was robbed of a comparatively small proportion of his product. The modern wage slave, on the other hand, appears to be free: nobody owns him and he even has his foot on the social ladder he may own property; perhaps he doesown a bit, or has some money in the teapot. He actually has a vote. It seems that he is robbed of nothing, that he is paid for all he produces. Even the forces of the State seem to be necessary to hold marke's abroad for the disposal of his products and to protect the rich cargo of his teapot at

All this presents difficulty enough even in the case of the worker, assisted as he is by his class interest in seeing through the sham. But it is an almost unsurmountable barrier to those born and bred in the atmosphere of capitalist circles, so much so that the few who do get some glimmering of the position are shut off from true democracy by class arrogance and class prejudice. They are the superior ones, and must

It is just here that our aphorism applies with greatest force. Without shutting the door against any who subscribe to our principles and act in accord with them, it is upon the working class that the working class must rely for their emancipation. Valuable work may be done by individuals, and this work may necessarily raise them to prominence, but it is not to individuals. either of the working class or of the capitalist class, that the toilers must look. The movement for freedom must be a working class movement. It must be founded upon the understanding of their class position by the working class. It must depend upon the working class vitality and intelligence and strength. Until the intelligence and knowledge of the working class are equal to the task of revolution there Hollingshed says that 7,200 were executed in | an be no emancipation for them. Hence they

must control all individuals in their camp, no matter which class they may belong to, and they must be guided in the conflict by the principle of the class struggle, which is based on the irrefutable fact that all written history is a history of class struggles, and the knowledge that the emancipation of the working class can only be the fruits of a class struggle, and therefore must be the work of the working class itself.

September, 1912.

DEGENERATION.

To anyone giving the matter his or her consideration the measure now in force known as the National Insurance Act, is undoubtedly one of the most significant pieces of legislation that have been passed for many years. Significant, for one thing, as showing the trend of the movement by which the ruling class is endeavouring to obtain a firmer grip on the lives and desti-nies of those ruled. Even more significant, perhaps, in its implication as to the deterioration which appears to be gathering strength within the ranks of the workers. It is in the latter aspect more especially that the present writer wishes to examine it.

The question to be asked is: "Why is insurance against sickness on a national scale necessary? Why has this compulsory scheme of insurance been thrust upon the working class?

A healthy man, or a healthy class of men, or a healthy nation, would find it superfluous to waste time formulating a complicated and widespread scheme of insurance against sickness. A healthy man, for example, takes little account of the possibility of his being ill. It is only when he begins to feel creeping on him lassitude, or aches and pains of any description, that he starts thinking as to his physical well-being. So with a nation. It is only when a nation is found to be in a condition of ill-health that the dominant section of that nation begins to devise ways and means by which the national sickness may be checked.

There may be some who will accuse the writer of attempting to credit the Government (or rather the capitalist interests that are behind the Government) with humanitarian motives in passing the Insuranse Act. But such is very far from his intention. The capitalist class never has passed, and probably never will pass, any legislation that is not intended primarily for the benefit of the capitalists, and for the purpose of strengthening capitalism. They have begun to realise, however, that the working class of this country (and the same applies to the working class of any civilised country) is in danger of developing into a class of mental and physical degenerates, and, realising this, they are making abortive attempts to bring into operation some scheme or other that will check this growing degeneracy, the more far-seeing of them perceiving that the continuance of such mental and physical penury means, not only the end of the workers, but the coincident end of the capitalists themselves.

The foregoing may seem to some people an exaggerated view to take of the conditions existing in present-day society. But the facts and figures given by eminent scientists and sociologists, as well as official statistics issued by the governing authorities, show that the position has little or no exaggeration about it.

Dr. Max Nordau, writing in the "Hibbert Journal" for the present quarter, on "The Degeneration of Classes and Peoples," says :

"The first phenomenon that forces itself upon our attention is the great increase of lunacy in all highly civilised lands. The studies and statistics of Dr. F. Winslow for England, Dr. J. H. Kellog for the United States, and Dr. Bertillon for France, are so well known that their figures need not be repeated here.'

"The increase in crime is also a fact proved by the official statistics of all countries.

The following, as summing up his conclusions as to the cause of what he contends is the degenerate state of all civilised peoples, is worth

The work done in the civilised world to-day is incomparably greater than at any former time.

Even the poorest workman, who is not a beggar, but earns his own living, makes greater. demands on his existence than his forefathers did, and the rise in his standard of life imposes correspondingly greater efforts upon him, since it is not compensated for by the general rise in wages. The dominant part played in production by the machine, to a mere attendant or which man in the factory has been degraded and ever-increasing division of labour which condemns the worker to an eternal, automatic repetition of a small number of movements, and reduces the part taken in his work by the intellectual faculties to a minimum, wears him out one-sidedly, and therefore quicker and more completely than is the case when, with a varied, manifold activity, which calls in turn upon different groups of muscles and requires the continued intervention of imagination, judgment, and will, he manufactures some complicated object of common use from the raw material up to the perfect article.

Even more sweeping than the above are some of the statements made by A. F. Tredgold in an article entitled "The Study of Eugenics," appearing in the "Quarterly Review," July 1912.

He starts out by saying that "The important question that confronts every nation is, are the people showing themselves possessed of, or lacking in, the capacity to advance?" From the information and the statistics he gives one can only come to the conclusion that the people are not showing themselves possessed of the capacity to advance.

In passing, it is very interesting to notice that when both A. F. Tredgold and Max Nordau speak of the "people" or the "nation" they are manifestly alluding to the working people (the members of the working class), implying thereby that the only important section of the community, the only socially useful and necessary section of society, is that section which works implying, moreover, that upon the shoulders of the workers alone rests the burden of civilisation, and if the workers are not strong enough to uphold that burden then nothing can prevent civilisation from falling.

To return, however, to the article by Mr. Tredgold. He admits that there has been a decrease in the death-rate, but contends that it is due to the advance made in the science of preventive medicines, as well as in medical and surgical treatment, rather than to any heightened vitality of the people.

He then continues:

"It is a remarkable and important fact that in spite of the diminished death-rate and of the lessened prevalence of many diseases, the average rate of illness has been steadily increasing for the past two generations.'

(Statistics are given from reports issued by such societies as The Hearts of Oak Benefit So ciety. The National Deposit Friendly Society, The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, in support

The following is taken from the last report of the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Edu-

"Out of six million children registered in the books of the public elementary schools of England and Wales, about 10 per cent. suffer from a serious defect in vision : from 3 to 5 per cent. suffer from defective hearing; about 40 per cent. suffer from extensive and injurious decay of the teeth; about 30 per cent. to 40 per cent have unclean heads or bodies; a considerable percentage of children are suffering from a greater or less degree of malnutrition.

He says :-

"I think it is the experience of most physicians that diseases of the nervous system gene rally are on the increase.

He comes to the conclusion that "on the whole the proportion of the mentally weak in the entire community must be well over one per cent, and considers also that there has been a very real increase in the proportion of those persons who are unable or unwilling to subsist by their own efforts. (This last, of course, applies solely to the working class, and has no relation at all to the parasitic capitalist idlers.)

As to the increase in crime, from figures issued by the Home Office it is clearly shown that there has been a marked increase since the

beginning of this century, and that in 1910 (the year the report was issued) the amount of crime was much above the average of recent years both absolutely and in proportion to the population. The extracts quoted above make ugly reading, certainly. It is not surprising that the local and

national authorities are beginning to take an interest in the physical and mental condition of working-class men and women and children. For the matter of that, neither is it surprising (to the Socialist) to see how futile are all the measures they bring in, all the efforts they expend. to prevent the downward tendency of working-class vitality. The workers may be patched up here, experimented on there, in order that they may still have sufficient vital force to continue the work necessary for the maintenance of society. But all the while the capitalist system itself is, like a cancerous growth, draining the vitality out of the workers. In a society composed of slaves and slave owners, what can there be but degeneration, decadence, death? The only hope is in the slaves throwing off their shackles and thus obtaining the freedom to order their own lives

The present writer reiterates the fact that it is for the working class to say what is to be the outcome of capitalism, whether society is to move forward to Socialism and a regenerated race, or back to degeneracy and a chaotic atavism. If the ever-increasing deterioration of working class mentality and physique is to be checked, it will only be checked by the united efforts of the workers themselves, not by any system of eugenics, or through the medium of fraudulent insurance acts. Civilisation is in a very sick and sorry condition. It is the task of the working class to make it whole.

F. J. WEBB.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)

"Weekly People" (New York).

"New York Call" (New York). "Gaelic American" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver

"The Star of the East" (Melbourne) "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"The New World" (West Ham).

"Freedom" (London).

"Cotton's Weekly."

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.F. (Peckham). AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM JUNE 1st., 1911. Subject: Should the Working Class Sup-

port the Liberal Party?

Post Free ...

ILFORD BRANCHS.P.G.B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS Will be continued throughout the year EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

> OPPOSITE ILFORD STATION

> > ALSO ON

THURSDAY EVENINGS AT SAME SPOT

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPTEMBER.

		(LONDON I	DISTRICT.)		
SUNDAYS.		8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	I E Roe	H. Cooper	F. Stearn	M. George
" " "	7.30	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	D. B. Campbell	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common	3.30	F. Vickers	A. Hoskyns	F. Dawkins]. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30	C. Ginger	A. Pearson	B. Young	A. Jacobs
Finsbury Park	3 30	F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	F. Vickers	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30	F. Stearn	J. Brown	F. Dawkins	J. Brown
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11.30	A. Barker	A. Kohn	F. Leigh	R. Fox
	7.30	T. Adams	F. Vickers	A. Jacobs	F. Vickers
Ilford (station)	7.30	C. Parker	A. Jacobs	R. Fox	C. Ginger
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	E Fairbrother	C. Ginger	R. J. Rourke	J. Roe
	7.30	F. Dawkins	R. Fox	A Kohn	F. J. Rourke
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	E. Lake	A. W. Pearson
Parliament HIII	11.30	T. W. Alllen	J. Roe	C. Ginger	A. Hoskyns
Peckham Triaigle	7.30	H. Joy	A. Bays	S. Blake	H. Cooper
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	A. Hoskyns	W. Lewington	T. W. Allen	H. Joy
Tooting Broadway	11.30	H. Joy	A. Barker	C. Elliott	A. Barker
	7.30	A. W. Pearson	S. Blake	H. Cooper	F. Adams
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	C. Ginger	H. Joy	W. Lewington	T. W. Allen
	7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn
Walham Green Church	7.30	A. Jacobs	D. B. Campbell	A. Barker	A. Bays
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0	F. J. Rourke	T. Adams	J. Brown	A. Hoskyns
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	E. Lake	S. Elliott	E. Fairbrother	D. B. Campbell
Watford Market Place	7.30	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Bays	F. Leigh
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill		J. Brown	F. W. Stearn	R. Fox	W.Lewington
,, ,,	7.30	A. Bays	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson
		C 9 00	100		

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N.

PRIDAYS.—Tottehnam, St. Ann. S. Rd., S. Magdalenerd., Earlsheld, S. Glesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30 Ilford, Station, 8.

PRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. World's End, Chelse, 8.30

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway. Amhurst Road, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh Honse, Beaufert Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W. BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britania-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Farlsfield rd, Garratt-la. Branch meets 29. Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m. EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.-Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at

FULHAM.—J. Williams, Sec., 25, De Morgan Road, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green.

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Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m.
in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford.

All communications to secretary.

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W. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 6.30, at A Nutfore-pl., Edgware-rd.

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Branch meets Thurs., atp.m. at 381, Harrow

Road, W. (side door).

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Nunhead. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30
at 21. Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Thursdays at 8.

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Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. TOOTING.—W. Thomas, Sec., 47 Woodbury-street,
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459, Green St., Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone
Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets

Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch mee's
1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall,
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society ased upon the common ownership and demoratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth is and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

That society as at present constituted is pased upon the ownership of the means of living i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capithist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour one wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagmism of interests, manifesting itself as a clase struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only the emancipation of the working-class from he domination of the master-class, by the conrersion into the common property of society of he means of production and distribution, and heir democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its free-tom, the emancipation of the working-class will volve the emancipation of . Il mankind without

istinction of race or sex. That this emancipation must be the work of

e working class itself. . That as the machinery of government, includinstrument of oppression into the agent of mancipation and the overthrow of privilege,

ression of class interests, and as the interest of he working-class is diametrically opposed to he interests of all sections of the master-class. he party seeking working class engerination just be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, there ore, enters the field of political action deter sined to wage war against all other political arties, whether alleged labour or avowedly epitalist, and calls upon the members of the orking-class of this country to muster under is banner to the end that a speedy termination. nay be wrought to the system which deprives bem of the fruits of their labour, and that overty may give place to comfort, privilege to mulity, and slavery to freedom

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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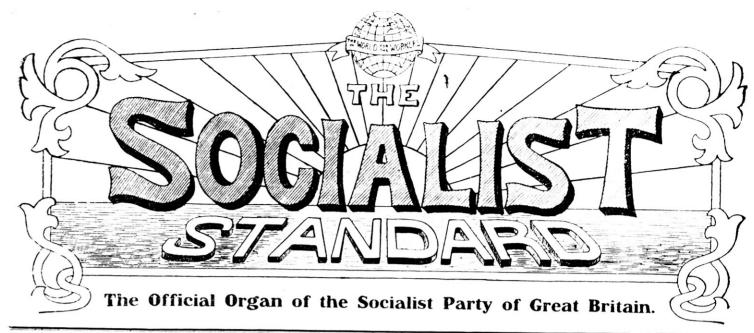
THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Printed by A. JACOMB, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

ng the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingiss must organise consciously and politically the conquest of the powers of government, tional and local, in order that this machinery, cluding these forces, may be converted from

ristocratic and plutogratic.

That as all political parties are but the ex-



No. 98. Vol. 9.7

LONDON, OCTOBER 1912.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

WORKING-CLASS POSITION. THE A PERSONAL CHIN-WAG.

It is often said that the civilised man cannot understand the savage. If this is true (and of its truth there can be little doubt) it is at all events not altogether surprising. The more surprising, and not less correct, statement is that the civilised man does not understand-

It may be as correct to say that the savage does not understand the civilised man: but the ironical element of the situation is that the "superior" being (to remove any doubt I had better say that by this I mean the civilised man) not only has to see the savage through the savage's eyes in order to understand him, but he has to see himself through the savage's eyes in order to understand himself.

The outlook of the savage upon life, and his "inlook" upon himself, can only be understood by the civilised man through the reconstruction of the social system in which the savage lives. Only after doing this; only after building up anew the social system based upon the free and common access to all the sources of wealth and the free and common enjoyment of the social wealth, is it possible to realise the self-abnegation, the sinking of the individual in the community, which is characteristic of the mentality of the savage and the barbarian.

On the other hand, so accustomed has the civilised man become to the life he is living, so perfectly do his conceptions of things as they ought to be fit in with things as they are, that all the unfitness and inconsistencies and incongruities of his environment are hidden from

If he could only realise that things as they are make his conceptions of thing as they ought to be! If he could only understand that, in order to perceive things as they are he must view them from the place where they are not! If he could only grasp the fact that before he can conceive things "as they ought to be," he must release his mind from the rusty fetters of things as they are!

An ethnologist of sufficient standing to get his bread buttered on both sides and round the crust by the approved capitalist method of "skating on the surface" of his science, has told us concerning the North American Indians, that they could not be induced to work steadily for wages; they laboured for a time, but would suddenly become tired of it, and would rather sacrifice what they had earned than continue to work a day or two longer and complete their contract. This was a mystery to the "scientist," but it should be illuminating for the civilised man who is willing to stand in the savage's shoes in order to understand himself.

In the savage mind the selling of one's energies to another is prostitution of the vilest kind.

The savage may have his hardships, but he is a free man. However hardly the seasons may press him, or the elements contest his right to exist, while he does exist he lives. All that is good in nature is his in abundance, with the single exception of food. He has room to live in, and he has time to live. For him the sweet breezes blow fresh and untainted, and the scented dawn ushers the day of joyous life. His work is performed in the sun and air of open day, and no stingy balance is struck between what he has consumed and the power he has gained from it. Only when the seasons have been unpropitious and niggard does he know want, and anxiety as to his livelihood is foreign to him, for all his hard poverty and his slender

The savage views his strength, his skill, his courage, as sacred to the purpose of making the most of life; as social assets contributary to the social welfare, and one holding that view can hardly do other than regard the man who gives over his strength and skill to another for a price

as a prostituted person and scorn him as such. This view is the correct one, notwithstanding that our "high civilisation" does not permit us to perceive it save through the fresh, clear vision of primitive man. Think! The strength of human muscles, the intelligence of the human brain, have been wrought out of untold ages of strife with the external world, the human struggle for a living. They have been perfected through an appalling space of evolution in order to make a bed of roses for the chemical compound which controls them. But from this high purpose they have been diverted. They have been sacrificed to Mammon -the historic mactation before which all others pale.

Yes, so low have the strength of human muscles and the intelligence of the human brain fallen in the hey-day of our "high civilisation," that they are devoted to the base end of increasing existing values, of producing profit for a class of absorbant, but nevertheless inactive, chemical compounds, who would soon resolve into their simple elements if they were left to their own resources.

O! foul prostitution!

What this prostitution means to the victims of it strangely enough they are the last to perceive. They give up every joy of life in order to gain bare half rations. While they pour out their heart's blood in a torrent of wealth for others to riot and exult in, they sink to the floor of their threshing dens overwhelmed with the grain they produce but may not eat, and perish for want of the wealth in which they are buried.

When some novelist paints with vivid touch and a thing not to be contemplated without | the wretched Roman slaves toiling in the wheel, disgust—and who can say that he is not right? | and muzzled in order that they shall not eat the

flour they are grinding, the modern toiler feels cold-footed spiders running over his face. Yes his own position is very much the same. The muzzle is exchanged for blinkers, but he still painfully grinds the corn which he may not eat; he still wears his life out in unrequited labour, and drains the cup of misery to the very last bitter dregs.

Fellow workers, you can only live once. Ask yourselves how you are spending that one life which you may spend. Ask yourselves how much of that life you spend upon yourselves, and how much upon those who hold you in their grip in order to batten upon you, as the ant battens upon the aphis which it "cultivates."

What do you know of the sun and fresh air? There are 168 hours in a week, and lucky you if you have for six or eight of those hours "a place in the sun." The rest of the time you are either slaving or recuperating. One hour in twenty, one day in twenty, one year in twenty -that is your lot and portion in your own life You exist for thirty years, on the average, and you "live" for eighteen months!

O! those eighteen months of crowded delirium, overshadowed as they are by the pinching poverty which requites toil, and the anxiety of caring for the morrow; purchased as they are with so many years of weary effort and hopeless drudgery; drenched as they are with the blood of murdered hopes and wet with tears: are they worth it? are they worth it? are they worth it?

When I hear an old man of the working class, whose life has been cast in the common groove of those about him, whose back has bent to the common burden, and whose hair has whitened in the common woe-when I hear such a man declare that he has not had enough of it and more than enough, and wish himself young again, then I will say, yes, perhaps they may be

Where is the need for all this grinding, wearing, anxious poverty? The savage never knew it. He starved only in the rare and exceptional season of dearth. The barbarian who came after him, and the early husbandman who ploughed with slow oxen, and sowed broadcast, and threshed out the summer's grain with a flail in the dull days of the winter; who spun each thread of yarn for his clothes through his fingers, and shot the shuttle for every strand for his wearing—these never new the anxious care and stint in which the modern worker fashions his strength into wealth for others' keeping.

The average wheat crop in mediaval England was four bushels an acre, and it was garnered with great labour - the average crop at the present day is thirty two bushels, prepared for with the steam plough, the Darby Digger, and (latest

The cause is very simple: the means of living have fallen into the possession of a few. As a result the others are compelled to prostitute themselves by selling their labour-power. For this they receive as much as it costs to produce. But this amount is almost constant, hence all the benefit of the improved machinery and methods goes to the employing class. And the growing surplus which the workers produce, which they are unable to buy back and consume because it is surplus-because it is product exceeding what they are paid-this surplus heaps up in the warehouses and gluts the markets, and then workers are thrown out of work because they have produced too much.

The evil does not stop here. As a constant succession of workers are thrown in the streets to starve, they, clamouring at the factory gates for employment, compel those in work to work longer and harder and for less money than ever. So in the end the machinery has only fixed toil more surely upon the worker, and confirmed him in his poverty.

There is only one escape for the workers. They must take possession of the means of producing wealth and use them to satisfy their needs and to lighten their labour. They must decline to be the beasts of burden of an idle class, and must demand that all able-bodied adults within such limits of age as may be found necessary, shall contribute their share to the necessary work of satisfying the social needs.

Why should any able person escape the labour of supporting himself or herself? Why should any class be permitted to throw on another class the burden of supporting them? The colossal impudence of it is overwhelming.

The way lies through the capture of political power, by means of which the master class retain their hold upon the means of production. It is through Parliament that the Army, Navy, and Police are controlled, hence Parliament must be captured by the working class. Having secured control of the armed forces production and distribution must be organised on a new basis—a basis of common ownership of both the means and the product. Then production will continue as long is goods are needed, instead of only so long as they can be sold.

That system of society is Socialism. Study A. E. J. Socialism and work for it.

IMPORTANT NOTICE. The Party's Head Office is now at 193, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

A DEBATE

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.F. (Peckham), AT THE

LIFERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM JUNE 1st., 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

Pcst Free

ON TRADE JOURNALISM.

By a Trade Paper I mean one published in the interests of a particular trade. Trade journals nowadays are as the sands on the seashore in number. Every trade, and often different branches of one trade, possesses its weekly advocate. The leather, boot and shoe, china, hardware, drapery, grocery, building-no trade is

there but what has the asset of a trade paper. These sheets have quite a respectable circulation, and form an important part of many large

publishing businesses. Trade papers typify humbug in its quintessence; they give us the limit in parochialism, the extreme in self centered selfishness. The critic of capitalism, the scoffer at humanity, the lover of "unconscious" humour, all can be satisfied by a perusal of the trade journals. They will delight anyone who desires to see in the concrete an example of the divorce between a capitalist's business and his Sabbath texts, between his weekday transactions and his Sunday jawing of the Litany.

Who does not enjoy the reference by a trade paper to a rival as "our esteemed contempor-"? Who does not relish the wriggling by the owners of them betwixt the interests of their subscribers and those of the manufacturing capitalists who contribute the advertising revenue of the paper? Who is so dense as not to kick when the journal of the boot and shoe trade preaches on the immorality of drapers who brazenly sell boots, who leave their "legitimate" sphere and encroach on the boot dealers' "sphere of influence?

A trade paper depends for its profits upon its advertising revenue; its value as an advertising medium depends, again, on its circulation among retail dealers. And the holding of the balance 'twixt the manufacturer and the retailer, the conciliation of their apparent rival interests, creates many a satirical smile on the face of the student of the machinery of capitalism. At a time of advancing prices, when the paper has to defend the capitalists who form its advertising asset against suspicion of greed, and at the same time lull the tempers of the retailers who form its subscription list-then see how the wise editor finds arguments to support his position, as arguments can be found to support any

Penny a liner! The word properly names thousands of journalists enroled as the whitewashers of capitalists. Business journals, like their "political" companions, find work for thousands of renmen who have no more belief in the creations of their pens than they have in -well, the sincerity of their political bosses. Were not the mercenaries of the camp more human, and did not they possess more socially useful qualities than do the mercenaries of the We are no militants, but the decadence which Wordsworth foresaw when "swords gave way to ledgers' is here and now depicted in our modern mercenary business Press and organisation.

Abstract Morality! What havoc does a financial or a trade paper make with such theological thimblerigging! Such papers have at the least these things to do: To defend the story of the patient, intelligent capitalist, and the erratic, foolish workman; to recoucile the interests of producing advertisers and distributing subscribers; to be independent on the fiscal question; to know the exact spot where one trade commences to encroach on another; to condemn vigorously all new-fangled ideas such as mail order businesses and cash on delivery systems, all of which are, forsooth, forms of "illegitimate" competition.

And although thousands of journalists and advertising hacks depend for their bread upon such journals, clerical jokers have the effrontery to gabble about a morality independent of productive systems, time or place, and of the possibility of capitalism being moralised; worse, even secularists, positivists and labourists believe such stuff—believe that humans can be made altruists and social when their very physical the increase in wages is only in theory, as no existence depends upon the facility with which they can put their tongues in their cheeks.

Anti-Socialist mercenaries predict the decadence in consequence of the transfer will not receive

of mental life; the journalist will be the servile menial of "State bosses," the hypocritical mouthpieces of a gang in temporary power!

But there can be no justification of such trifling argument, for when a journalist or author is in a position to say: "Looking forward to life's end I can safely say I shall never want bread": when bumans are all assured that decent material existence upon which to build up the higher things of life, surely ordinary human nature will scorn any suggestion of the systematic hypocrisy which personates to-day the name of journalism. When distribution is the result of a common-sense organisation in a free community, there will be no need for the inane puffs which disfigure the pages of trade journals and newspapers: when such words as retailer and wholesaler have become relics of the past, the parasitic journalism which is based upon their relationships and antagonisms will also surely die. Contemporay journalism is based upon modern business methods, upon that type of production and distribution which we call capitalism, so when capitalism bites the dust its sordid "literary" manifestation will also vanish. Talanted artists ought not to waste their energies in selling pills, nor able writers and organisers in puffing obvious catch rennies. When men and women can live leisurely and fully, with freedom to express their convictions, it is not much to believe of human nature that they will receive with surprise and resentment any suggestions of mental hypocrisy.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

BILL IN THE CHAIR.

THE Trade Union Congress has met, passed resolutions on things that do not matter, listened to innumerable speeches, attended many functions, "seen the sights" of Newport, assisted in prayer at the Labour sermon, and having run its respectable course, over much the same

respectably passed away. Labour is none the wiser for their deliberations; none the more free for all their wordy resolutions; none the fatter or happier for all the merry feasting and expensive junketting of their "Parliament."

ground that other congresses have before it, has

As usual, the Congress was larger than ever before, and its president, blushing Bill, showed an "example of straight speaking and clear thinking which might well be copied by some of our brilliant speakers and debaters at Westminster."

ninster." ("Daily Herald.") After a few preliminary remarks anent "the largest and most important congress vet held (omitting to state that the increased membership was due in the main to a blind rush to join 'approved societies" in conformity with the National Insurance Act) Bill proceeds to show his ignorance.

He tells us that "the outcome of the coal strike would take them one step nearer to the nationalisation of the mines . . . which will be of a lasting benefit to the nation."

("Daily Herald."

This is distinctly good for Bill, who time and time again has stated that the Government workers are worse off than those employed outside. Further on in this illuminating address he tells us that "19,000 employees of the late National Telephone Cc. now enjoy the same conditions as the Post Office workers, which brought them under the eight hours system.

The result of the eight hours system and Government control has been "an increase of £175,000 per year in wages, increased holidays. a larger staff, and pensions amounting to an expenditure of £201,000 per annum," according to our worthy president.

Which is all bosh, as has been shown by many of Bill's pals who have the misfortune to "enjoy" the jobs he refers to. Among others, one "in the engineering branch of the service" who states in the "Daily Herald" (6.9.12) that "a 50½ hour week" is worked, goes on: "I shall be pleased for Mr. Thorne to understand that employee is receiving any increase; also that a large number of the men have not had an in-And with the death of capitalism what? crease of pay for the last two or three years and any now Where the late Company's employees' hours have been reduced they have suffered a corresponding reduction in wages; but where working hours have been extended no recompence has been given."

October, 1912.

At the Annual Meeting of the Government Workers' Federation at Enfield on June 4, 1912, Bill's benevolent boss was described as "the greatest enemy we have got," and a delegate said: "They [the Government] are the worst set of employers I have come into contact with They are wicked; they rob the maimed, the blind, the widow and the labourer. In fact, they take everything we let them take. (" Daily News," 4.6.12.)

At the same meeting a resolution was passed condemning the Government for refusing to put the "fair wages" agreement, in operation, and calling upon them to grant a minimum wage of 253. 6d. to workers engaged in War Office and Admiralty departments.

Mr. W. Cheeseman, secretary of the Fawcett Association, said that the Government were forcing them to strike, and delegates from the Royal Parks stated that "for a wage of 23s. many of the men put in a seven day week.'

This eulogy of the Government on the part of our "honest" chairman, who has "graduated with high honours in the school of Labour." denotes a sudden change of front. In the House of Commons, March 4, 1912, Mr. William Thorne (South West Ham):

"moved as an amendment to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question in order to add instead thereof the words:

'in the opinion of this House the conditions of service of Government employees should be in every respect at least equal to those observed by the best private employer or by local publicauthorities dong similar work.' ('Parliamentary Debates,' Vol. 35, No. 14, p. 82.)

This amendment was defeated by the Labour men who abstained from voting for their own amendment in order to save the Government from possible defeat.

In support of his amendment Thorne and others gave some very interesting facts. Bill

"There are a number of leading storehouse men at Pimlico receiving 20s. per week, while in the factories adjacent to Pimlico it is found that the average for a similar class of employment worked out at 25s. 6d. Crane men start at 27s. per week and go up to 32s., while a similar class of men working outside for ordinary contractors can command 35s. and 40s. per week." Barge loaders and van men working for the Government "get 24s. per week without any chance of promotion. These men are doing a similar class of work to that for which in the docks and on the wharves of the river 8d. per hour is paid, with 1s. per hour for overtime.

"At the Army Ordnance Department at Woolwich," said Mr. Tyson Wilson, "the men presented a petition asking for a minimum of 26s. per week. Some of these men are 'promoted' to foremen without having their wages increased. At Waltham Abbey things have improved, and the minimum is now 24s. per week. But the work is very injurious. The materials get into the system, affecting the heart, particularly the nitro-glycerine, and that is not work at which men live long. At Weedon," went on Mr. Wilson, "the skilled labourers get 19s. per week and 2d. per day extra duty pay. At Enfield . . the minimum is 23s. 6d. The local employers of labour pay 6½d. and 7d. per hour.

Some very glaring cases of sweating were given with regard to firms contracting for the Government. At Stepney at Clark's biscuit factory men are working 60 hours per week for 19s. 6d., while at MacNeill's Patent Felt works 14s. is paid for $56\frac{1}{2}$ hours work.

According to Mr. Wilson there are "cases of

hosiery firms who are supplying the War Department for the wear of soldiers and other servants, and some of these firms have said themselves that they do not intend to pay the standard wages."

So much for the pet scheme of nationalisation. Bill should know (and probably does know) that nationalisation means greater poverty and insecurity for the worker, and that the Government as an employer is better only in so much that it can grind the hardest and sweat the most

Bill also seemed to believe that the miners during the year had won a victory, for he is reported by the "Daily Herald" as saying :-

"The main reason for the miners leaving work was to establish a minimum wage. The Government made every effort to bring about a settlement without legislation but failed, and the Minimun Wage Bill was passed. In many districts a substantial increase has been brought about."

Anent this we print the following from the 'South Wales Daily News" (9.9.12):

"Mr. Hubert Jenkins, miners' agent, has just issued a circular to the workmen at the Lianbradach Collieries stating that the relations between the men and the management have become very strained, and that it requires some courage under the circumstances for men to dare to assert their right to the minimum wage under the Minimum Wage award. He alleges that when the men fail to get clearance and claim to be paid, they are being stopped and kept idle or sent to work by night, which means the revival of the system of sponging.

"This treatment (he proceeds) is being meted out to a few at a time with the result that no man is safe; this must come to an end. The committee are blamed, the miners' agent also, because of the delay in getting grievances dealt with. The time has come when the whole of the men employed at the Llanbradach collieries must voice their protest in a determined manner, or be prepared to to sacrifice their freedom and liberty completely.

"Men, he further alleges, have been going home with starvation wages since the resumption of work at the end of the national strike."

Our brilliant Gas-worker next shone upon the question of the eight hours day. After pointing out that the Congress had been passing the resolution since 1890 without effect, he asked them to pass it again. "If time had permitted" he "could speak at length on the benefits an eight hours day would bring to the wage-earners in increasing leisure and decreasing unemployment. Which again shows how little knowledge this paragon of presidents possesses.

A reprint from the "Daily News" (27 8 09) reporting the speech of Professor Chapman in his address to the Economic Science and Statistical Section of the British Association, Winnepeg, may interest and justruct.

"The character of much of the world's work. said Professor Chapman, has changed, and with that change has come a difference in the demands made upon leisure. These changes all tended to specialisation and concentration, both in working and in leisure, and to constant demands for the curtailment of the working hours of the day. In the course of long investigations he had found no instance in which an abbreviation of hours had resulted in a proportionate curtailment of output. There was, indeed, every reason to suppose that the production in the shorter seldom fell short of the longer hours, and in some cases the output or its value had been augmented."

As the miners and others have discovered, an eight hours day means greater speeding up rendered possible by the greater amount of leisure, and, as has been shown, in many cases a greater output with the same or a smaller number of employees. The introduction of the eight hours day, like the adoption of nationalisation, means more unemployment and more poverty for the workers, and no amount of claptrap from the President of the Trade Union Congress will prove the contrary.

After a sly lift to the Home Rule Bill and other Liberal measures the President passed to the Insurance Act and endeavoured to draw attention from the fraudulent nature of that measure by attacking the Prudential. The Pru," it seems, have been business-like and have captured all the ninepences, at which the Unions are wrath. In their desire to get members the latter care little whether or not such members are trade unionists, and clearly show that what we have said all along is true, namely, that the sick and benefit side of the unions has long since absorbed all trace of the fighting organisations they may once have been A curious exception to this touting may be

noted in a union which shouts about the "tactics" of the Prudential and at the same time have refused to accept into their "approved society members of their own union. Thus the London Society of Compositors are forcing their own members into the insurance societies, while their delegates condemn the Prudential for taking them!

The Congress settled down to business and passed a resolution "that the question of secular elucation be eliminated from the questions for discussion at any future Congress.

They have been discussing and passing resolutions about secular education for some forty years and made no progress, and so have decided not to waste time in passing any more. How much better would it have been if they had done the same with the rest of the motions None of them are of importance and nobody takes any notice of them.

There was much to do on the question of compulsory arbitration, and Mr. Ben Tillett, ita champion, exchanged some complimentary remarks with Messrs. Brace and Havelock Wilson, but nothing important was said. The anti-political gentleman rightly said that the other side were " political Methuselahs who are capable of passing resolutions and nothing else," while those in support of the motion favouring political action truly said that "the opponents of the motion were ex-members of Parliament; those who had tried to get into Parliament, and those who had abandoned all hope of getting there.' " Daily Herald.")

It is interesting to note that the Executive of the B.S.P., of which Tillett is a member, unanimously passed a resolution at its meeting on July 8th, condemning compulsory arbitration "as destructive of the independence (!) of the workers," and recorded its "strong and convinced protest against the principle of compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes." ("Socialise Record." July, 1912.)

Evidently the rejection of his pet proposal annoved Tillett, for, writing in the "Daily Herald" (9.9.12) he tells us that "there is little chance for most of the men attending Congress to even debate new theories, however commonsense they may appear to be. . . the real powers and potentialities of Congress are stultified by the atrophy of customary narrowness in thinking."

The above sentiment is endorsed by Mr. Price. a member of the West Australian Parliament, who, to a representative of the "South Wales Argus" said: "I was struck with the lack of knowledge displayed, not only by the delegates, but by the Members of Parliament (did he mean The difference between the Labour Party in the Antipodes and in Great Britain is that the former has a definite policy dealing with every phase of political economy, while in Great Britain the Labour Party has no definite policy or platform so far as I have been able to discover.'

The Congress got excited because of a certain circular issued by the Government re the transfer of members of an "approved society," decided to call a special meeting, and generally soat forth fire at the action of the Government. But the Government need have no fear. The bribe given to the unions has caught them effectually, and though they may threaten to withdraw they will remain safely within the net in consideration of extra membership and extra dues, coupled with the influence brought to bear by one-time trade unionists who have been bought by Government jobs. To quote

"All the expressions of opinion asking for action to be taken, either for amalgamation or joint trade union action, were sat upon, and the fighters of twenty years ago are the ruling politicians of to-day.

Ah, yes! the trade union movement has been sold time after time, and will remain as clay in the hands of those who are moulding it to suit their own purposes, just so long as the membership of those trade unions fail to understand their class position and the politics dictated by that position. Any action taken by any section of the trade unions will be side tracked and outvoted by the bosses who are pulling the strings, and they in turn are led by those who have already been bought by the Government.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions fo the Socialist Standard, articles, ondence, and advertisements submitted for Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standard,



LLOYD GEORGE'S PER-MIT TO MURDER.

THE "Titanic" horror turned attention for a moment to the ocean passenger trade. It threw up in bold relief the profit hunger of the shipping companies and the small chance the workers had of being rescued when danger came. After the "Titanic" white-washing job-known to lawyers as the "Titanic" Commission - was over, some meagre alterations in rescue appara tus were foreshadowed, and the world nodded-

A month before the "Titanic" disaster, however, occurred another of which the world has scarcely heard. Nevertheless it is full of frightful significance, just as terrible, and with even a greater lesson for the working class than that "Titanic" disaster bore. It showed the fiendish greed of the modern shipowners, and illustrated the murderous methods of the masters of the world. It proved the treachery of all the political parties of our masters, who used the power entrusted to them to drive brave and hardy toilers to their death.

On February 29th last the Cardiff steamship "North Briton" left Sunderland bound for Sulina with a cargo of coal. When the vessel was within twenty-five miles of Ushant she foundered, and every one of her crew except the boatswain was drowned. The black story of the cause of this tragedy of the sea we will leave to the Ministerial organ, "The Daily News and Leader," which printed the following in its issue of September 24th :-

"PLIMSOLL LINE AND SAFETY AT SEA." "LESSON OF WRECK WITH LOSS OF TWENTY LIVES."

"The foundering of the steamship 'North Briton' off Ushant last March with the loss of all hands but the boatswain should be the means of compelling the Board of Trade-i sufficient public interest can be aroused to reconsider the question of the Plimsoll mark

Under new rules for assigning a ship's freeboard - the distance between the main deck and the water line-the Plimsoll line was heightened in March 1906 for ships under the red ensign. . . . Almost unanimously captains, officers, engineers and seamen have declared that the new load line converted a 'dry' ship into a 'wet' ship, because it destroyed a ship's reserve buoyancy, and so endangered life and property; and at last a Court of Enquiry has found in the case of one steamer that the primary cause of her loss and the deaths of 20 of her men was excessive deadweight and an insufficient freeboard."

The "Daily News" man was informed by the National Union of Masters and Mates that the replacing of the Plimsoll Mark was one of their

"When the new rules came into force a large steamer belonging to one of the greatest of our British lines, loaded railway iron and coal for Bombay down to her new mark. On her arrival it was found that she was structurally strained-her beams and bulkheads had given Within six months she and her two sister ships had to be stiffened to allow for the extra loads. But do you think that the owners of all the tramp steamers did the same when their vessels sagged through too much cargo?"

A master mariner told a "Daily News and Leader" representative that he himself had nearly lost a steamer from the same cause that sunk the "North Briton." He said :-

"My ship was usually a 'dry' ship in bad weather, but after her load line was altered she had to carry 200 tons more, and she became lifeless in heavy seas and her deck was always full up. Only on a recent voyage the continual breaking inboard of heavy seas because of her want of life and buoyancy got her hatches adrift before we were clear of the Channel. Something of that sort happened in the case of the 'North Briton.' We were two hours getting her watertight again, and but for sheer good luck-for this business happened at nightwe should have become a missing ship.

On Saturday, September 21st, the Board of Trade enquiry into the loss of the "North Briton" was held at Cardiff. The magistrate who presided over it summed up thus:

"For some time before the vessel foundered. and when her condition was hopeless, the crew - those 20 brave men of that brave class, the British Mercantile Marine-stood together on the deck with their pipes in their mouths, silently, calmly, dauntlessly facing death. Without a murmur or a cry they perished in the sea. THEIR LIVES WERE SACRI-FICED TO THE 130 TONS OF ADDI-TIONAL FREIGHT."

He pointed out that "according to law she was not overladen, but the Court is satisfied that consistent with safety the loading was excessive," and "the primary cause of her loss."

The Court put the Board of Trade the followng question for urgent consideration:

"Do the disasters to vessels that have occurred since March 1906, when the rules for assigning a ship's freeboard were revised, and whereby numerous vessels had their freeboard reduced, call for further immediate revision of such rules?"

Those who expect real action to be taken will soon have their hopes quenched if they read the record of the Liberal Party in this matter.

The name of Plimsoll is known wherever the tale of the sea is told. Samuel Plimsoll was struck by the cold-blooded murder of seamen on the high seas, and the records of their butchery by Liberal and Tory shipowners made him take up the battle on their behalf. He carried on an active mission in the seaport towns of England, where he told the terrible story of the dangers of the men sent to sea in "coffin ships," in ships overloaded but insured up to the hilt, so that if they went down the owners were at no loss.

In 1871 he entered the House of Commons, and in his fight to lessen the death-roll among seamen he was jeered at and mocked by the Liberals and Tories gathered there. He brought in Bills but found no backers. In "Gladstone's greatest administration," 1868-74, he was ejected from the House for daring to describe the shipowners as "cold-blooded murderers." After his four years of bitter struggle the Tory Party were returned, and they seized upon the popular outcry Plimsoll had aroused, and passed the Load Line Bill of 1875, lowering the load line and increasing the freeboard. They did this to dish the Liberals.

Samuel Plimsoll hated Toryism, but the depth of his hatred of Liberal Governments was shown when he said in the House of Commons on May

"I am a Liberal of the Liberals. I have supported Liberal measures ever since I came this House, but it has been borne into my mind that the interest of the working classes, when at issue between themselves and capital ists, are safer with the Conservatives than with the Liberals.

Thirty one years after the load line was lowered; thirty-one years after the Plimsoll Mark was established, David Lloyd George became President of the Board of Trade, and he wiped out the labours of Plimsoll by issuing new regulations raising the load line. The Plimsoll line -the charter of the seamen-was dead. In its place was substituted the Lloyd George load line. And ever since the sorry story has been told of human life destroyed to increase the profits of the shipowners.

The case of the "North Briton" was no isolated one. In January this year the "Wistow Hall" foundered off the Aberdeenshire coast from the same cause. Fifty-three of our fellow workers went down in her, paying with their lives for their masters' greed. Last year 1254 of our seamen lost their lives. Already this year this number has been left far behind- an army 'sacrificed to additional freight."

Nor is the murder of the seamen the only evil result of the raising of the line of lading. Mr. Havelock Wilson, the Liberal Secretary of the Seamen's Union, told the South Shields seamen on Oct. 20, 1910, that thousands of them were out of work because of that very alteration of the load line, for "at one stroke of the pen, by the alteration of the freeboard of ships, we have added to the tonnage of our vessels nearly one million tons of shipping."

The Board of Trade have issued (L.L. 11) a

reprint of the revised load line rules altered in March 1906, and they have been eulogised by the Shipowners' Parliamentary Council. The reason for the alteration was briefly to save the shipowners building extra vessels. On the same day as they published the matter before quoted the "Daily News" published the shipping re-turns with the bold headline: "Our Shipping Supremacy." They told us that in the past year our tonnage had increased by 21 million. England carried 37 million tons of cargo against 22 millions carried by the combined other nations of the world. Therein is the secret. When in 1906 the Liberal Government was returned. you found in its ranks and among its leading supporters, most of the great shipowners of the world. Lord Pirrie, director of Harland and Wolff's, the White Star and other shipping companies; Lord Furness, director of six shipping concerns; men like Sir Owen Phillips, Mark Palmer, Lord Joicey, Lord Rendel, Sir Walter Runciman, Sir William Bowring, R. D. Holt, Lord Munburnholme and other members of the Wilson family, Russell Rea, Hon. J. A. Pease, etc., etc. They were amongst the greatest backers of the 1906 campaign, and hence

they dictated Liberal policy.
David Lloyd George very kindly looked after their welfare then as he looked after the railway magnates' interests later on. Hence these tragedies, these murders on the high seas, this sacrafice of brave, useful men to the greed of Capital.

The villainies of Liberalism stand out as a criminal record as black and bloody as ever Tory policy was or could be. The Labour Party, too, have silently watched these atrocities, and organised its members to save the Government from destruction!

Down with capitalism! Down with Labourism! Up with Socialism!

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

An Economic Class will be held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8, commencing October 11th. All intending students should endeavour to be present at the first meeting, otherwise ground is lost which it is difficult to recover.

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NINEPENCE FOR FOURPENCE.

October, 1912

"Everyone does not appreciate deep economic arguments, but every workman can appreciate between getting 9d. and 4d."

Thus spake Mr. Lloyd George-beg pardon, Lord Limehouse, the (rare and refreshing) fruit merchant, addressing a "Labour" deputation on June 20, 1911.

Mr. McKenna, not to be outdone by the load-line raiser, said: "The fundamental fact is that the workman contributes 4d. and gets 9d. * * *

You are to get 9d. But turn from the official report of the aforementioned deputation (Cd. 5869.) to leaflet 2393 of the National Liberal Federation, which says :-

"Of course, this does not mean that for every 4d. paid the insured person always gets 9d.

I hope every workman "can appreciate" that. You get 9d.—but not always. A kind of three card trick. Find the 9d. among Lloyd George's

It isn't an employers' Bill, oh, no! Look, however, at Lloyd George's speech to the deputation from the Chambers of Commerce (30.6.11), introduced by Lord Brassey :-

"Under the Compensation Act the workmen malinger at the expense of the employer, but under this Bill they will malinger at their own expense. If a man malingers he cannot draw more money from the State, he cannot draw more from the employer. He will have to find the deficiency out of his own pocket." (Same report.)

"That is a very important point for the protection of the employer which I am surprised you have overlooked. . . I quite agree with Mr. Parkes [Tory M.P. for Birmingham] that the doctor is perhaps the most important and essential person in this connection, and it is also very important that he should be put in an independent position, and that is why, as far as I am concerned, I should be very glad if the House of Commons took the responsibility of placing the doctors under the local Health Committees, because, after all, the local Health Committees will be independent bodies. I have no doubt there will be employers there because there are far more employers than workmen on the county councils of the country; the proportion of workmen is not very high.

The workmen cannot malinger—Lloyd George has seen to that. But what about the employers? Ever heard of masters malingering, David? Announce that grouse shooting commences on August 12th and see how they run The Liberals won't stop them malingering. A lot depends upon the doctor, says David. Workingmen with experience of the London County Council doctor in compensation cases, for instance, will agree with him. Therefore Lloyd George urged employers to get upon the Councils "because membership of the Council means lower rates." And he went on, "he would, if he gave the benefit of his business administration to the local authority, cut down the rates and lighten enormously the charges which fell upon himself.

To a "Labour" deputation the Chancellor preaches one tale, but to this deputation from the employers and merchants he preaches another. Listen to this :-

"I would invite the attention of employers to the way in which we have framed this Bill, because it is framed in a way to completely protect them." (Cd. 5869.)

This appeal to Property is equal to the one in the National Liberal Federation's leaflet (No. 2422), which says of the employer :-

"He will be repaid partly in the increased efficiency of his workers. In good health and with a mind freed from financial worry, a man will do better work though working no harder | Astor! The latter, a large property owner, than now. Then, again, men will be saved from | objected to postponing the operation of the Act. the workhouse and the relieving officer, and so and explained the large saving of rates that trouble is the casual labourer. We want, somethe employer will have less to pay in Poor would result, remarking. "We must make the

The ." Manchester Evening News" (Liberal) of 7.8.12 reported the Clerk to the South Manchester Guardians thus:

"The National Insurance Act will do more to prevent and eventually to eradicate pauperism than all the Poor Law Acts on the Statute Book.' Being notified of this Mr. Lloyd George

"I have always felt confident that its operation must have the effect of relieving the rates. I was informed the other day by the Local Government Board that consumption alone costs the rates about a million and a half per annum. . . . Mr. Bloomfield is therefore perfectly right in assuming that the operation of this Act must necessarily have the direct effect of relieving taxpayers of a large proportion of the burdens which sickness now casts on their shoulders. . . The maintenance provided in days of sickness by the Insurance Act and the institutions set up and subsidised out of its funds will be offered to the workingman as substitutes for the workhouse and workhouse infirmary—substitutes which will be consistent with 'the honour and dignity of Labour.

When this glorious Bill was introduced, Liberals pointed jubilantly to Clause 51. "There is the worker's clause," they declared. "Under it no landlord can levy distress for the whole period any person receives sickness benefit." But—"there's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip." The Employers' Parliamentary Council waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a spokesman of the Farmers' Federation said :-

"The great bulk of our workmen are housed in cottages belonging to us, and if those cottages are not at our disposal when the workman leaves off work the whole work of the farm is stopped at once.

To this Mr. Lloyd George replied:

"If the clause were confined to cases where life would be imperilled by the process would that satisfy you?

Farmers' Representative: "Yes, I should

Mr. Lloyd George: Then I propose doing it. am with you entirely. I think the clause as it stands is far too wide and malingerers might take advantage of it."

So at the behest of landlords he altered the clause, which now states that if in the opinion of a doctor the person receiving sick benefit is likely to die if distress is levied, it shall not be done. The doctor's certificate is to be issued for a week only, but may be renewed each week up to a month by the doctor, unless the landlord has applied to the Registrar of a County Court, whose decision must be accepted without appeal

On this point we had an item in "Reynolds's Newspaper" (2.7.11) headed "Master of Elibank Reassures Landlords re Clause 51." It ran as

"The Master of Elibank has written to Sir Robert Aske at Hull with reference to the Insurance Bill. In the course of his remarks he says: 'it should not be overlooked that the provision of sick pay is likely to make the payment of rent by the working classes during sickness very much more regular than it has hitherto been, and Mr. Lloyd George has no doubt that this will far more than compensate the owners of small houses for any loss that may be suffered in the rare cases where Clause 51

This is "rare and refreshing fruit." indeedfor the landlords. In fact, the striking unani mity of Liberal and Tory, landlord and factorylord, over this Bill, should convince the toiler of its fraud. The "wicked House of Lords" passe ! it without a murmur. The Tory party largely supported its Second Reading, and refused to vote against the Third Reading. Mr. Lloyd George eulogised prominent Tories for their support of the Bill- Mr. Charles Bathurst, Lord Henry Bentinck, and Mr. William Waldorf ratepayer realise it."

"We are going," said Mr. Lloyd George at Queen's Hall, on December 31, 1909, "to provide adequate insurance against unemployment to prevent the starvation of the wife and children of the man who is out of work perforce." Under the Insurance Act the "adequate" insurance becomes seven whole bob a week. But should he be unemployed "perforce" because his Liberal or Tory employer has locked him out, then the starvation will take place through the deliberate provisions of the Insurance Act, which say that in case of a lock out no money shall be paid to the men. If the toilers should be goaded into striking by a Liberal Devon; ort or a Tory Penrhyn, then, also, they get nothing. They may have paid in pounds, but they can starve. If, also, a toiler fails to make application for benefit "in the proper form," if he fails to come at the "required time" to the "required place" to sign on, he draws-nothing. Should he, in the eyes of the Jacks-in-office, leave work "without sufficient cause," or lose his job through what his boss calls "misconduct," then he gets the figure which multiplied by itself is the same. Again, should he be in arrears in his contributions through lack of work, he may look in vain for the Welsh rarebit's "rare and refresh ing fruit."

This idea of what is "adequate" provision seems to vary with the recipient. Baron Robson, late Sir William Robson, applied in July to the Ministry for "adequate" assistance as he was retiring. He had been Solicitor General at £6,000 per annum, and after a year or two became Attorney General at £7,000 a year. Both these jobs carried with them "fees" which would be a good deal more than the salary itself. The next job Robby got was Judge of the High Court at £10,000 per annum. He stuck that for a year or two, without "malingering" more than half the time, and then retired-of course, with "just cause." So David's Government presented him with a pension "for the term of his natural life," of a dollar a week-no, beg pardon, three thousand, seven hundred and fifty pounds a year. £72 a week is "adequate" for this lawyer to malinger upon, but the sick workingman is adequately provided for with seven

Every Insurance Commissioner draws twenty pounds a week, while the Chairman of Commis sions gets twice that sum. Where do these huge salaries come from?

Mr. Lloyd George won't say. But talking to the Merchants and Bankers of the City of London just after the Bill was brought in (July, 1911) he said:

"It would be a great satisfaction to them to know that in his judgment the Insurance Bill would not add a single farthing to the taxation which had already been imposed in this country.'

They don't come out of taxes, so where are they coming from? The employers say they won't come from them in any other way. Listen to Sir Adolph Tuck, presiding at a meeting of Raphael Tuck & Sons (23.7.12):

"I am of the firm opinion that this expendiure (on Insurance contributions) will, in the long run, prove one of the best investments which the company has been called upon to

A few days previous to this Lord Ashton, the employer of 6,000 men at his Lancaster carpet and other works, said: "It is one of the grandest Acts ever passed." On July 7th Mr. F. D. Acland (a member of the Government) told the people of St. Albans that "in Germany they could not find a big employer who would go back to the days before the Insurance Act

As a last quotation let me give Mr. Lloyd George's speech to the deputation from the National Farmers' Union of England on July 4.

"I want the farmers to remember this, that this is going to be a tremendous relief to the Poor Law, and the casual labourer is the man who gets on the rates. It would be an enormous relief to the poor rates. Our real economic how or other, to make provision for him, and I think it is worth our while, and it is certainly

worth the farmers' while, to do so; because the poor rate is their heavy burden, and to get the casual labourer off the rates would be a benefit to you, if you could get him off. I am very loth to keep the casual out if I can possibly help it. That is the most helpless class in the country and they become a burden on the community IT IS FAR BETTER TO GET FOURPENCE OUT OF HIM, BECAUSE NOW YOU ARE BEARING THE WHOLE OF THE EX-

Does this, set alongside his emphatic state ment that the workers are to get "9d. for 4d.," sufficiently prove how much of the liar and the cheat lies hidden in the unblushing hide of this little Welsh lawyer?

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM.

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

APHORISM VI.

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As the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government. national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

THE machinery of government is composed of the governing bodies, from Parliament down to the Parish Council or the Board of Guardians, the instruments of the Law, from the Lord Chief Justice down to the "Labour" J.P., and the armed forces, from the army and navy, professional and amateur, down to the policeman, the jailor, and the common hangman.

To say that all these exist merely to conserve to the master class the plunder they wrest from the workers looks, to the man who views things through the glasses the masters provide for him, very much like "drawing the long bow," but it is nothing of the kind.

It is often argued that the hangman is necessary to square accounts with the murderer of the working-man's daughter, that the policeman is the sweet little cherub who sits up aloft and keeps watch and ward over the teapot the prosperous proletarian banks his surplus money in.

Well, what if he does? What if the hangman is the only protection of sweet and innocent seventeen? It does not follow, by any means, that this is anything more than an incidentalthat this is why these appendages of the present social system exist.

As a matter of fact it is in the very nature of the "State" to wear a mask -to assume a physiognomy that is not, in reality, its own. exists in order to maintain "order." That is the fundamental hypocrisy of its existence. It exists in a false atmosphere of impartiality, as something above the division of class interests and therefore as competent to deal impartially with petty class squabbles.

But first of all it postulates a social condition which is entirely in favour of the class whose instrument it is, and the basis of that social condition in the present day is the private ownership of wealth.

The "order" which the State is to maintain must be in harmony with that property condition. Anything which is out of harmony with that basis is disorder, and must be suppressed. Therefore, of course, it must include the robbery of the working class.

Under that condition the State and its machinery pretends to be the servant of the whole of the people, but it is ridiculous, on the face of it. The fact that some workingmen have a little money in the teapot, or that the system breeds | ment of the means of producing wealth, the a certain number of maniacs or desperate beings social system and this stage of development may, against whom society at large needs protection, nevertheless, be totally out of harmony. Indeed,

only serves to obscure the real reason for the maintainance of armed forces

It is not the private property of the workers that the armed forces of the nation exist to protect. It is not even the private property of the master class that it is primarily maintained to conserve. It is the central point, the pivot, of the present social system—the private property institution which is to protected.

It is this private property institution that is the vital spark of the capitalist organism, hence its preservation unruptured is of incomparably greater importance than the protection of present property from petty pilferers.

As a matter of fact the State is itself an instrument for the violation of private property, as witness the "Death Duties." One section of the ruling class may use the machinery of the State to plunder another section, and that without straining a joint of it. But every atom of its composition is formed to resist any attack upon the private property institution.

It was shown in an earlier chapter that the basis of society as at present constituted is the ownership by the master class of the means of living. At the time society was placed upon this basis the machinery of production was in a very different stage of development to that which it has attained to-day. The steam engine was not invented, and machinery was practically

The vast strides made by the development of the means and instruments of production have brought about an industrial revolution, but the basis of the social system has not shifted one jot. It was ownership by a section of society of the land, material, factories, and implements of production in the beginning of the system-it is

the same to day.

How could it be otherwise? The very working of the system itself precludes the broadening of the private ownership so as to include all the people, for the steady tendency of competition has been and is to narrow that base by crushing successive circles out.

The only way in which the base can alter is in the direction of common ownership, and in this direction there is no halfway house. Bits of common ownership cannot exist in a world of private ownership by a class. The case is not the same where, even though private ownership is the rule, it takes the form of ownership of the means of production by those who use them instead of by those who do not. In such a system certain portions of the woods and pastures. for instance, might be commnoly owned, as indeed, they were, and people owning their own products would derive benefit from them.

But where the workers have to sell their labour-power in a competitive market in order to live, the benefit of all property, whatever the legal term of ownership may be, will accrue to the master class. However it may be called, they have control of it through their system, which determines that the working class shall surrender the whole of their labour-power to them at the cost of its production.

If there were any possible way in which the social base could be gradually changed from private ownership to common, it is doubtful if all the armed force could prevent that gradual change taking place -but we should have seen a commencement made long ere this. A a matter of fact not one shred of commonly owned wealth can be pointed to. Our Post Office is under the control of the master class, who use it to sweat profit out of the workers for the relief of the taxpayer, and to provide fat sinecures for their own sons. Even the "nation's pictures," and the public parks, are under the control of the capitalist class, who decide how they shall be conducted, and when they shall be opened or closed. The people have nothing at all to say on these

It is quite impossible, therefore, for the base of present-day society to undergo any process of evolution. Society itself does evolve, but the present base of society cannot. It started in the same form that it now possesses, and it must retain that form until it finishes its career. It came in as private ownership by a class, and as private ownership by a class it must go out.

While it is true that in the long run the soci system is determined by the stage of develop-

at recurring periods it must be, at least so long as society is divided into classes. The reason is that while the development of the means of production is not under men's control the social system, within certain limits, is. The industrial development, which men cannot arrest, is ever shifting the social centre of gravity, changing dominating values. Thus, at one time, whoever controlled the land controlled society. As indus try developed, however, the implements and machinery became of greater importance. This change of values brought another class to the surface - the owners of the factories, machinery, and raw materials. But the industrial development which brought to light this new class, did not arrange a social system under which they could reach their highest pinuacle of power. It gave them strength by altering the values of the sources of wealth; it gave them education by making the stage of development of industry incongruous with the social base. It prepared the way for a social change, but the actual work of bringing the social basis into line with the method of production it left to the initiative of the class whose interests demanded it.

And at the same time the old ruling class, whose interest lay in maintaining the system under which they were paramount, opposed the attack upon that system to the utmost.

The social system, then, is within certain limits under the control of men. Each system that permits of class distinctions favours a given class, and that class naturally employs every means to prevent it from falling.

It is for this purpose that the present ruling class maintain their army, navy, and police. By means of these they hold back social change until the social basis of sectional private ownership has got to be quite out of harmony with the means of producing wealth by social effort. It follows, therefore, that the revolutionary class must dispossess the capitalists of these armed forces before they can change the social basis.

The machinery of government is controlled through Parliament. Parliament provides the money without which no army or navy can be equipped or maintained. Parliament, which pays the piper, calls the tune to which Jack Tar and Bill Adams must dance. The moral is plain: the working class must organise for the capture of Parliament.

When they have possession of this instrument they will have control of the armed forces, and will be in a position to proceed to the abolition of private property in the means of living and the organisation of industry on the basis of common ownership of the machinery of production and of the product.

The organisation must be consciously for this purpose That is to say the organised workers must understand thoroughly the object for which they are organising. The strength of the revolutionary party does not depend, in a time of crisis, upon the number who have been voting for fragments "they believe in," but upon the number who understand what the Revolution means, and whose adherence is founded upon this understanding.

What is the position of the man who has been voting with the S cialist party because he thought they stood for, say, nationalisation of the land, which he believes in, when he finds that they do not stand for that by itself, but for the abolition of private property in every social necessary? He withdraws, and discouragement is bred of his defection. But suppose large numbers have been induced to give support to an object they do not understand, and therefore cannot believe in, what is the position of a party that should attempt to take revolutionary action on such a miscalculation of strength? The result might very well be disaster.

Even if it were no worse than a fluctuation of strength at the polls, that would be sufficiently disastrous to condemn such pandering to ignorance, for Socialism must have no backwash, but must clearly indicate, in every trial of strength, the steady advance which is inevitable to it.

But there is another and vastly more momentous reason why the Socialist organisation must be purged of all ignorance.

One of the most fruitful causes of workingclass apathy in political matters in the past few years has been the monotonous regularity with which the so-called Labour leaders have been bought over by the master class.

A sort of wholesale instance of this is the pre-

sent Labour (!) Party in the House of Commons. In order to attach to themselves the vote of "organised Labour," which was raising a cry for a party representing working class interests as the "organised workers" understood them, the Liberals assisted certain "Labour" candidates to scrape into Parliament in divisions where a vote split between "Labourite" and Liberal would let in the Tory.

October, 1912.

The result is that "organised Labour" is treated to the spectacle of a "Labour" party putting down amendments that they dare not move for fear the Tories should side with them and defeat the Liberal Government.

There is only one safeguard against this sort of treachery. The working-class party must build up its position only on the votes of those who understand the working-class position and working class politics. If this is done the master class will realise that they are up against democracy; that the representative is only the representative; that the "rank and file" rule the roost, and that as the elected person cannot switch votes to one side or another he has nothing to sell. In such case they will realise that all there is left for them to do is to fight him.

All the reasons here set forth demand the utmost clarity of issue. Only the revolutionary is a fit instrument for the Revolution. It would be placing the Socialist Party in a false position to have them occupying seats to which they had been elected by the votes of those who were not revolutionists, for in the first place they would have to pander to these un classconscious voters in order to retain their seats; secondly they would be unable to obey the commands of their revolutionary coadjutors, for if they did it would involve the alienation of those who did not stand for revolution.

The revolutionary and the reformer are as far as the poles asunder. The one stands for the abolition of what the other clings to. It is folly, then, to attempt to unite the two in one political organisation. Each must fight for his interest as he understands it—therefore at the outset they must fight each other. The place for the reformer is in the master's camp, for however they may differ as to matters of detail, they do agree as to the fundamental point—the necessity for the maintenance of the present system.

It is the duty, then, of Socialists to see that the workers organise consciously for the revolution. To this end they must keep the issue clear. They must do all they can to discourage those who do not understand the meaning of revolutionary politics from attaching themselves to them, either through the political party or through the ballot. They must at all times clearly put forward the principles of Socialism, asking only for the acceptance of those principles. Anyone who intelligently accepts these principles will need no inducement in the way of varorous promises of reform and palliation. He becomes part of the revolutionary novement, an atom of vital force belping to push it along, instead of an increment of the dead-weight of ignorance and apathy which retards the progress of any forward movement.

Let us stand for Socialism alone, then, without obscuring our teaching and our object with other issues, and therefore without lumbering our backs with paralytics who cannot walk and who won't be carried. Thus only can we build up a political organisation composed of the sound, healthy material necessary for our purpose. Thus only can we base our actions upon exact knowledge of our strength.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

A. E. JACOMB

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)

"Weekly People" (New York). "New York Call" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).

The Star of the East" (Melbourne) "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London). "The New World" (West Ham).

"Freedom" (London).

"Cotton's Weekly."

PARTY NOTES.

A BRANCH of the Party bas been formed at Bedford. Socialists in the district should communicate with the Secretary, for particulars see Branch Directory on back page.

A branch is also being formed in the High Wycombe (Bucks.) district, and Socialists willing to assist should communicate with R. W. Gardner, 73 Abercrombie Avenue, High Wycombe.

Another branch is being formed in Nottingham. Any person desiring particulars or wishing to join is referred to L. Shearstone, 4 Balfour Road, Nottingham.

Leaflets dealing with the Rates and Taxes question, and others bearing the Declaration of Principles of the Party, have been issued for free distribution. Still another leaflet, dealing with the Anti-Socialist Union and debates, has been prepared. This last was necessary the further to expose the lying and cowardice of the gang masquerading as the "cfficial A.S.U." leaflet embodies correspondence that passed between the A.S.U. and S.P.G.B. officials, and should be widely distributed wherever the former is heard of.

After the Lord Mayor's show comes the dung cart, we are told, and so the B.S.P. follows the A.S.U. with only this difference: the A.S.U only declines to debate with us after having tried to put up a case and been badly smashed—the B.S.P. knows it has no case and therefore keeps

in hiding.

The following facts are illuminating. June 23rd last the Moss Side, Manchester B.S.P. branch was challenged to debate the question "Is the British Socialist Party Deserving of Working-Class Support?" The challenger was referred to the Executive of the B.S.P. as the authority for arranging debates. He consequently, under date June 27th, sent the challenge in writing to the General Secretary of the

Failing to get an acknowledgement, although a stamped envelope was enclosed, our comrade on July 29th sent a registered letter, and ob tained an advice showing that the letter had been delivered to, and signed for personally by, Mr. H. W. Lee.

On July 31st Mr. H. W. I.ee wrote: Mr. J. Brough,

Manchester Branch S.P.G.B.

Your communication shall be laid before the meeting of the British Socialist Party on Saturday, August 10th.

Yours faithfully, (Signed) H. W. LEE.

It is now October, and nothing further has been heard from them on the matter. Verb. sap.

The B.S.P. we are infermed, publish a paper called the "Socialist Record." Desiring to sam ple it we wrote asking what are the subscription rates. Here is the reply from their Central Office, dated August 29th, 1912 :-

Mr. A. L. Cox, S.P.G.B., 193 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

Replying to your letter of the 23rd instant I have to say that the "Socialist Record" is a journal for members of the British Socialist Party, and is not for public circulation. Yours faithfully

(Signed) ALBERT INKPIN, Assistant Secretary.

More verb. sap.

apologise for, nothing fear and nothing hide.

as all our meetings are open to the public. The we cordially invite our fellow workers in Padresult is seen in that the enemy fear us, while our courageous attitude and show a growing | with us in securing our emancipation from the Socialism. To further assist in this direction Socialism.

Educational Classes will be held during the winter menths. Already arrangements are made to open the Central class at Head Office on Oct 11th. At West Ham and Battersea classes are also starting.

The Party has received several invitations to send representatives to explain Socialism to other organisations and branches thereof. This is a very useful form of propaganda, and should be encouraged. Needless to say, speakers will readily be sent when requested.

"SOCIALISM IN PADDINGTON."

Under the above heading a somewhat demoralising discussion as been carried on in the columns of the Iceal Press, during which the SPGB in general and the Paddington Branch in particular have been favoured with the biassed opinions of certain "well-educated, reasonable reople," such being duly appreciated and assessed at their true

. Undoubtedly much of this anonymous animosity was created by the wilful misrepresentation and historical lies that the cunning Anti S cialist and his co partner, the Christian Socialist (!) are endeavouring to epread in this locality of extremes. In particular, a "Socialist" curate has been making himself conspicuous in that devilish direction by attempting to discredit our party by stating that "the S.P.G.B. is an obscure little sect, numbering (at the most) some 200 members in the whole of Great Britain.

As several supporters of our propaganda enquired whether such was true, a letter from the present writer was published in the local Press, in which it was pointed out that if the membership of the S.P.G.B. did not exceed 100 that of itself would not prove that the Party's principles were wrong.

It is clear that this genial cleric pinned his faith to numbers and not principles, and that his conception of a Socialist body is one that commences its career with a million members and dwindles down to a few choice spirits to perpetuate the species.

The sycophantic attitude of these "Social istic" sky-pilots becomes apparent upon reflec tion. They are Anti-Socialist spies seeking to permeate the Socialist movement with the chlo roform of a dead religion. It is all humbug to say that Socialism is based upon Christianity or the Sermon on the Mount," because neither Theism nor Atheism can be the basis of a social

Another correspondent put forward the suggestion that the time had arrived when their united energies should be concentrated against 'the only party worth talking about; the party of revolutionary Socialists; the S.P.G.B. proposed immediate action being taken to smash the branch up, because he felt convinced that when the S.P.G.B. citadel has been demolished and the rubbish cleared away, the Socialist movement in Paddington will cease to be a fighting force, and will gradually fade.

This hostile announcement acted like a tonic on the branch, who replied by advertising a series of lectures on Socialism at the "Prince of Wales," Harrow Road. It was preclaimed that our object in holding these lectures was to give citizens an opportunity to discuss the question of Socialism and all its implications, and we invited opponents to attend and subn it questions. or state their case against us from the platform With what result? The week's mission was a great success. Large and attentive anciences listened to the exposition of Socialism, and the collections and sales of literature were very good. And from the enquiries that were made concern ing the party the branch confidently expects an increased membership.

Our Secretary is at all times ready to enlighten

any wage-worker who is desirous of joining the Socialist Party. If there is any doubt or diffi-The Socialist Party, however, has nothing to | culty that wants explaining, now is the time to have such matters cleared up. Our branch meet All our publications are therefore for the public, ing is held for that purpose an ong others, and dington to bestir themselves, throw off the the more intelligent of the working class respect | shackles of superstition and ignorance, and join appreciation of our consistent propaganda for thraldom of capitalism by the institution of BEN CARIBLES.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR OCTOBER.

(LONDON	DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.		6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.			
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	C. Elliott	J. Roe	A. Barker	M. George			
" " ,	7.30	A. Hoskyns	D. B. Campbell	H. Joy	1. Elliot			
Edmonton Green	7.30	A. W. Pearson	B. Young	A. Anderson	A. Kohn			
Finsbury Park	3 30	A. Anderson	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	A. Jacobs			
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30	A. Jacobs	J. G. Stone	J. Brown	B Young			
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11.30	R. Fox	A. Hoskyns	T. W. Allen	F. Leigh			
,, ,,	7.30	H. Cooper	A. Jacobs	F. Vickers	C. Ginger			
Ilford (station)	7-30	A. Tims	R Fox	B. Young	F. Vickers			
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	A. Kohn	J. Brown	R. Fox	A. Hoskyns			
), ,, ,, ,, ,,	7.30	C. Ginger	R. Hughes	A. Jacobs	R. J. Rourke			
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. Leigh	A. Tims	A Kohn	E. Lake			
Parliament HIII	11.30	T.W. Alllen	W. Lewington	S. Blake	J Roe			
Peckham Triangle	7.30	T. W. Allen	F. Vickers	D. B. Campbell	H. Cooper			
Stoke-Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	F. J Rourke	A. Pearson	E. Fairbrother	J. G. Stone			
Tooting Broadway	11.30	E. Lake	S. Blake	H. Joy	A. Hoskyns			
	7.30	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	H. Cooper	A. Barker			
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	A. Hoskyns	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson	W.Lewington			
	7.30	F. Vickers	A. Bays	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson			
Walham Green Church	7.30	A. Barker	S. Elliott	A. Hoskyns	E. Lake			
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0	A. Bays	A. Hoskyns	A. Tims	H. Joy			
Wandsworth, Buckhold-rd.	8.0	D. B. Campbell	A. Barker	A. Kohn	A. Tims			
Watford Market Place	7.30	A. Kohn	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	A. W. Pearson			
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	J. G. Stone	C. Ginger	F. Stearn	F. J. Rourke			
	7.30	R. Fox	H. Joy	A. Bays	T. W. Allen			
MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. World's End, Chelse, 8.30 SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.								

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.-F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh Honse, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W. BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britania-rd.

CENTRAL.-Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.-R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd. Garratt-la. Branch meets 20. Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m. EAST HAM .- Communications to Sec., at Hartley-

Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m. RDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at

7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, FULHAM .- All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walnam Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every

Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care

of 2, M lton-rd., Gravesend. ILFORD.-Communications to Secretary, care of W. Pren is & Co., Broadway Chambers, Ilford. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford.

in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford.
All communications to secretary.

ISLINGTON.—J. G. Stone, Sec., 63, Wallace-bdgs.,
Coledonian-road, N. Branch meets every Wed,
at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st,
4Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's
Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street,
2nd and 4th Mondays at 8. Public invited.

MANUERONE. A. Kohn, Sec. 24 Carbutton-street

MARYLEBONF. A. Kohn, Sec. 24, Carbu:ton-sreet, W. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 6.3.3, at , Nutford-pl., Edgware-rd.

PADDINGTO N.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., ato.m. at 381, Harrow

Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secry, 91, Evelina-road,
Nunhead. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sandays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON. -Communications to Secretary. 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green, Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. TOOTING.—W. Thomas, Sec., 47 Woodbury-street,
Tooting Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 24, Pearl; road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8. at the Price 4d. - Post Free 5d.

Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st. WATFORD.-G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM .- All communications to H. Tate, 76, First Avenue, Plaistow. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St., Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone

Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.
WORTHING.—G. Stoner, sec., 31 Southfield-road,

Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets altern-Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

. That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freetom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without istinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of e working-class itself.

. That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workinglass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, ristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class enancipation

must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, here ore, enters the field of political action deter mined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly apitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under ts banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that coverty may give place to comfort, privilege to squality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

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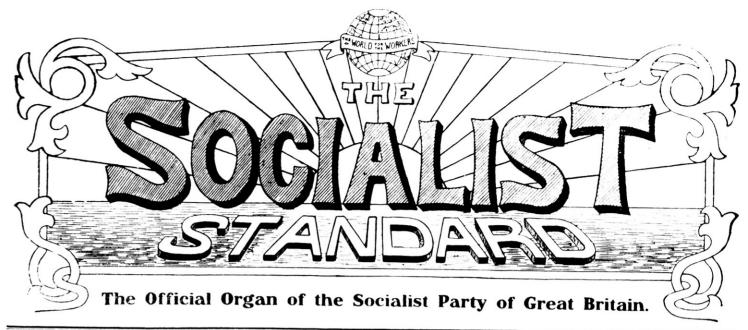
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Post Free



No. 99. Vol. 9.7

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1912.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY

COME TO JESUS "SOCIALISM." THE BROTHERLY LOVE WAY.

THE avowed opponent of the Socialist movement takes up one of two positions of Heads attack, each antagonistic to the other. or If either one is correct, then the expo-Tails nent of the other view must be as ignorant of capitalist conditions as that ignoramus, the Socialist himself.

One brand of "anti" informs us, with horror, that Socialism means slavery and vile servitude that the abolition of capitalism will involve the establishment of prostitution and horrors the like of which capitalism never knew. The other variety tells us that "Socialism is a grand ideal -far too good to be true." They explain that for Socialism to "work" we have all got to be as heavenly as angels, and they point in despair to the touch of "the old Adam" which they discern in all human kind.

Each type has its cause, and, like most other evils, its cure also. The first is the result of the cast-iron "State capitalism" preached by the Fabian tribe under the name of Socialism, while the second is due to the prevalence of the disease misnamed "Christain Socialism."

To abolish these evils all that is required is a knowledge of the cause of the trouble and determination in the removal of that cause. Abolish the "State Socialist" and his spurious ideas and exterminate "Christain Socialism" and its evil appurtenances, and those who gain the ear of the worker by attacking such rubbish will cease

The "Socialism means slavery" merchant is easily disposed of, for no matter how vivid his imagination may be, he cannot discover one evil which is not found to be rampant in some form under capitalism.

Neither can he show how such evils will be increased by the advent of Socialism, which means to substitute organised social production and social enjoyment for the present chaotic "social" production and private ownership of the wealth produced. That slavery will be more intense under a system of state capitalism is for the advocate of nationalisation to deny, and has no concern for the Socialist.

The "State Socialist" and his opponent are both in the same boat since they are defending systems which have as their basis the extraction of profit by the method of wages and the consequent enslavement of the wage receiving class. Both systems depend upon the robbery of the producers, which is to-day the cause of poverty and all its attendant ills.

The pious individual who, showing The the whites of his eyes, declares that White "the doctrine of Jesus is the purest Eye. and most perfect Socialismy ever known," is well represented by a writer in the "Hibbert Journal" (October 1912). He starts out by saying :-

"A great many respectable and prosperous who has been warned off the turf."

people imagine that Socialism is nothing but a violent expropriation of the Haves for the benefit of the Havenots. It is possible that a number of the so called Socialists are themselves influenced by that view, but I doubt very much whether it commends itself to thoughtful Socialists, and I am satisfied that no such program ought to be, or ever will be, carried out.'

It is the usual attempt on the part of religion to emasculate any militant movement it tries to enter. "Be a Socialist if you will," it says, 'advocate your new system and dream of it, but do no more than dream. Do not act. Remember we are all brothers and do nothing

The writer tells us that "the violent exprepriation of the rich, whether by predatory legislation or at the immediate hand of the mob (the usual way the working class is described by the blessed brotherhood), can only result after further disorder, in the reinstatement of the Haves in their unhealthy predominance, leaving the Havenots worse off than before."

No, we must not be violent. We must leave violence to our enemies. We must be kind and gentle to the murderers of our wives and children. If the representatives of the 'Haves," by raising the Plimsol Mark, send to their death our seamen brothers, we must "turn unto them the other cheek also," and ask the

The Ought ghouls to slaughter a few more of of the "Havenots," in order that the "Haves" may have more. The poor girl in Belfast manufacturing Irish linen goods at 1d. per hour should bless the good, kind master who lives a luxurious life on the proceeds of her toil, for we must know that "the attitude of the thoughtful Socialist toward the wealthy is and ought to be, one of friendliness.

Our Christ-like friend admits the existence of an antagonism of interest and recognises robbery, for he speaks of capitalism as "the system where the whole nation is exploited for increasing the possessions of the fabulously rich," and he confesses to having a difficult job on hand to reconcile that antagonism.

Naturally so. But it can be done if you (the mob) will be quiet and docile, and, what is far more important, you will refrain from "predatory legislation." Bend your necks in patience and humility, yea, even until your noses be well on the grindstone.

The "thoughtful Socialist" is going to do it for you if you will only wait. He is going to do it thiswise: He is going to "educate not only the Havenots, but the Haves. He must open their eyes to the injustice of which they are the victims equally with the Havenots; he must awaken their consciences, so that a millionaire will come to feel ashamed of himself, as a man

A difficult matter, my brother? No, quite simple. We shall go to Rockefeller. A Carnegie, Harry Thaw, and the Splendid Marquis of Townshend and point Joke. out to them that they are the "victims of injustice," and then, "when it becomes as disreputable to be a millionaire as to be known to have robbed a bank, the main attraction of wealth will have disappeared.'

Can any thoughtful person doubt it, much less g"thoughtful Socialist? When it becomes disreputable to be a n illionaire!

Of course, no one "will lay violent hands on the millionaire (the thoughtful cove does not want to get pinched), but his position in society will become like that of a bookie or a publican or even worse.

Is this possible? Worse than a bookie, or, horror of horrors, worse even than a publican! Could the idle rich survive such treatment? Of course not. But worse is to follow. "He (the millionaire) will be shunned and avoided and no nice person" (not even the dustman and the chimney sweep) "will care to be seen in his

Later on we are told that "the idea may be regarded as semi-religious." Yes, it may be. It may also be considered by some to be idiotic, but then those people will not be "thoughtful." and can be described as the "so called Social ists"-an easy way out of the difficulty.

So much for the method of obtaining this 'higher system." But what of the "system chen we get it?

This "Socialism" of the future "scorns compulsion 'of any sort, and should the millionaire, remain untouched by the above described antics, as doubtless he would, and "prefer to keep his wealth, no true Socialist would say him nay." Those depraved individuals who preferred to be millionaires under "Socialism" could, of course, do so, and as a punishment they would be compelled to herd with the bookies, the bankers, and the publicans.

Wealth denotes poverty. For one to be wealthy many must be poor. Poverty stricken and exploited wage slaves must exist with idle millionaires. Robbery and exploitation must go hand in hand with affluence.

If, then, we wait with patience, all these things will be added unto us in this "higher system," the coming of which will only be delayed by "encouraging violent assults upon the

property of the Haves and by organised Peace, attempts upon the health and comfort Be of the country, such as the recent coal Still! mining railway, and shipping strikes.

Such is the nonsense dealt out in the half-crown journals of our masters. How much it says for their intelligence as a class that such muck can find sale among them I will leave the reader to judge.

JOTTINGS

MR. J. R. Macdonald, M.P., speaking at Stanningley, near Bradford, on Sunday, October 6, said that "for twenty years and more the I.L.P has been developing its own policy, and has been laying down its own conception and method of Socialism, with the result that Socialism is no longer the creed of a few little bethels in the country, but is the foundation of a great political party.

And yet, after having removed I.L.P.'ism from the little Bethels to the largely attended P.S.A. meetings and brotherhood gatherings, Mr. Macdonald had to inform his audience that "the Independent Labour Party is a Socialist organ-

Perhaps it was necessary because the man in the street, not being able to distinguish between Labourism and Liberalism, wonders what concern of Socialism and Socialists are such reforms as nationalisation of mines, which Mr. Snowden M.P., speaking at Glasgow on the same day as Mr. Macdonald spoke at Stanningley, said was "a reform which could be defended as a busi-

ness proposition. This was with reference to the Miners' Federation's proposal to nationalise the coal mines. The proposal is embodied in nineteen clauses, which variously propose as follows:

Clause 1 refers to setting up a Ministry of Mines, with a salaried Minister of Mines at £2,000 per annum. (A job for a leader here.)

Clause 2 proposes to take over any workings and implements necessary to coal mining, same to be vested in the Minister for Mines on and after a certain day to be appointed (in the sweet bye and bye).

Clause 3 refers to the purchase price for the above workings and plant.

Clause 4 is where the "business proposition" comes in. It provides for appointing a commission to assess the purchase price—Chairman to be a King's appointee, three Commissioners to be appointed by the Mining Association of Great Britain, three by the Miners' Federation, and two by the Trade Union Congress. A fine look-out for the future Bells, Shackletons, and Mitchells on the prowl for jobs.

Clause 7 embodies the business side for the master class-purchase price to be paid in Three Per Cent. Coal Mine Stock to consist of perpetual annuities yielding "divi." at 3% on the nominal capital, after 20 years redeemable at 3 month's

The other clauses are not of interest, but the above are sufficient to show that the Snowden-Macdonald type of Socialism (!) that proposes to nationalise the coal mines in order to pay 3 per cent annuities to the capitalists and find jobs for astute labour leaders, requires a preparatory explanatory remark that "the I.L.P. is a Social ist organisation." If its leaders only repeat it often enough they may even get a few fools to

Time has not impaired Mr. H. Quelch's ability in a certain direction, as the following extract from a translation of a speech delivered by him to the German Democratic Congress at Chem-

Dealing with the development of what he calls the Socialist Movement in Britain, Mr. H. Quelch said :-

"Many branches of the Independent Labour Party, indeed, disgusted with the Labour Party alliance, joined the new united Socialist Party. and it is on behalf of that united party, number ing some forty thousand members and comprising all those who stand for undiluted, uncompromis ing Socialism in Great Britain, that I greet you here to-day." ("Justice," 21.9.12.)

There is a Latin proverb meaning "Truth begets hatred." If the present writer never has his "innarda" (call it "soul," if you choose, Mr. Printer) torn with hatred of Mr. Quelch until he catches that gentleman telling the truth, he is not likely to lose his hair on his account ever.

As for the Labour Party alliance with the

Liberals, why, how long ago is it since Mr. H. Quelch was gnashing his teeth and cutting up something awful because the Liberals wouldn't enter into an alliance with him? How long ago is it since this (how does he put it?) man "who stands for undiluted, uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism in Great Britain" was declaring that he stood for the "one-and-one principle

one vote for Liberal and one vote for Quelch and calling the Liberals nasty names because they wouldn't carry him into Parliament on their backs? The disgusted I.L.P.ers have deserted those who have allied themselves with the capitalists in order to follow one who really couldn't do such a thing—he tried very hard. he's sorry and its not his fault, and all that sort of thing, but the Libs wouldn't let him.

The Editor of "Justice" and advocate of 'undiluted, uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism" was not at all out of place at that same Chemnitz Congress, for I learn that in the Ger-The old impossible attitude is giving way, and it is recognised that under certain conditions common action for immediate ends with the 'bourgeois' parties is of greater moment than a demonstration in favour of the future Socialist State."

This is because: "Since the Dresden Con gress the Revisionists, who were suppressed in 1903, have become too strong to deal with in this summary fashion." (i.e., by expulsion) "This section of the Party, while retaining the main outline of the Marxian creed, introduced the modifications of doctrine demanded by mcre accurate economic knowledge" (a la Bernstein). "In the political field they recommend more attention to the reforms of the moment and greater readiness to act with the Liberal parties.

Manchester Guardian," Sept. 23, 1912.) It is before such as these that Mr. Quelch enlarged upon the Labour Party's alliance with the Liberals. The wail of the disappointed candidate, gentlemen. But doubtless the next general election will bring to the surface another of those "immediate ends" which make "common action with the bourgeois parties of greater moment than a demonstration in favour of the Socialist State of the future."

The "forty thousand . . . who stand for undiluted uncompromising revolutionary Socialism" will then translate their "undiluted, uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism" into the extraordinarily uncompromising, revolutionary action of joining with the Liberals on the basis of the "one-and-one principle," in order to secure the "immediate end" of finding Harry Quelch a seat in Parliament.

This, of course, is always supposing that the Liberals will "trade" with them.

The remarkable "unity" of the "new united Socialist Party" was well demonstrated at the meeting at the London Opera House, September 30, when Mr. Leonard Hall "thought the workers by organisation and general strike and boycott, could make themselves masters of the situation. They must get power industrially before they could get it politically.'

To which Quelch (whose interests, of course are in the political field) retorted that "political action is the reason for the B.S.P."

At the same meeting Mr. Ben Tillett, in a moment when his natural candour got the better of his discretion, said: "The other side had tried to fool the people, and so far had done better than we had.

While this may be true in fact, it may be said that the B.S.P. is a very young party yet. It has hardly cut its canine teeth yet. In its few months of existence it hasn't done so badly in the way of fooling the people. Anyway, they have nothing to reproach themselves with on Their undoubted unity on this point will without question enable them rapidly to overtake "the other side" as soon as they can settle their little differences as to which is the heat way to fool the people.

In which settlement the possession of a journal "not for public circulation" will materially

Cheer up, Ben, the future is bright !

The Labour Exchanges are still being used for the purpose of strike-smashing. A recent case was that at the Admiralty works at Rosyth. The contractor, with the assistance of the local manager of the Exchange, got men from Ireland in place of the striking navvies, and paid them 6d. per hour for work which the strikers had objected to do for 5d.

This same contract has shown how interested the Liberals are in working-class conditions. According to a "Manchester Guardian" correspondent, Mr. McKenna has declared that 5d. an hour "was a fair wage for the work, and one in accordance with the fair wages resolution in the House of Commons," while Mr. Macnamara has expressed the view that "the accommodation provided was sufficient."

There are 3,000 men employed on the works at Rosyth. Dunfermline, four miles off, is the nearest town, and few of the Rosyth workers live there. At Inverkeithing, a mile from the dockyard, two buildings, both barracks of the barest kind, have been erected. Neither contains any accommodation for married men. The iob is likely to last eight years or more. In one of the barracks day and night shifts occupied the same beds in a crowded dormitory. Some have to lodge elsewhere as best they may, and in one small cottage of three rooms a man with a wife and three children takes in seventeen

The above details are given in a leading Liberal newspaper ("Manchester Guardian," Oct.

A vivid sidelight is thrown upon the dangers besetting the workers from industrial accidents by the following passage taken from the same

"The nearest hospital is at Dunfermline; it is a small one, quite unsuited to the class of case that the dockyard provides. It has recently been overflowing, and cases have been sent further North, along the coast to Kirkcaldy.'

What's that about the risks of capital?

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

A Central Speakers Class is to be established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes, which are to be held at the Head Office, 193 Gray's Inn Road, W.C., every Saturday evening at 7.30, commence on Nov. 2nd. It is urged upon all comrades to make a point of attending.

BATTERSEA BRANCH are holding a course of economic lessons on Wednesday evenings at 8, at 184 High Street, Battersea. Non-members invited. No charge.

WEST HAM BRANCH are holding an Economic Class on Saturday evenings during the winter months, at the Bolevn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park, commencing on 2nd November at 8.15 prompt. All workers invited to study with us.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY. BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham),

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM. JUNE 1st., 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

... 1½d

WHO ARE THE IMPOSSIBLISTS? 0:0

November, 1912.

THE leaders of the Labour Party, in order to obtain the confidence and support of the workers -without which they cannot obtain seats in the House of Commons and other comfortable positions—have to satisfy their followers that they understand social problems, and possess the ability to cope with them. This, in itself, is not difficult, because the workers, surrounded by capitalist institutions and taught capitalist ideals from childhood, have not yet, in any considerable numbers, questioned the basis of the system under which they live.

They accept in blind faith the assertion that there must always be rich and poor, rulers and ruled, if there is to be any sort of order. The result is that, although the workers recognise the social evils from which they suffer, they are easily persuaded that those evils can be removed by legislation.

Unconscious of the conflicting interests be tween capitalists and workers, they believe that when due representation is made to Parliament; when a sprinkling of Labour members "voice the grievances of Labour on the floor of the House," legislators will, acting with fairness and impartiality, take steps to deal with those

This is the mistaken belief that leads the workers to support the Labour Party. The leaders of the Party do their utmost to foster this belief, because it increases the security of their positions. But they go further than this, for they assert that the reforms they advocate, besides improving the conditions of the working class now, lead gradually toward Socialism.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, for instance, writing

in the "Daily Chronicle," says that "we are passing rapidly into a transition stage, which is not Socialism, but introductory to Socialism. Under it the powers of the workmen will increase, and with that will come a better distribution of wealth."

The worker all the more readily believes the transition stage fiction because the exploitation which he suffers from, and has suffered from for so many generations, has reduced him, both mentally and physically, to a condition of abject apathy.
Unsupported by evidence of any kind, the

transition stage myth is mouthed by all the Fabian and Labour backs. A period will intervene between capitalism and Socialism, says Mr. Macdonald, "which can be called either State Socialism or State Capitalism, according to fancy." The basis of the "intermediate system' is not described. He evidently refers, however, to the more developed form, or latest stages, of capitalism, wherein the concentration and monopoly of the most important industries have been effected, together with the nationalisation of those services and industries which are most amenable to government administration and in agreement with the interests of the majority of the capitalist class.

The nationalisation fable is always very loosely handled by its advocates. They invariably neglect to point out that, even though all the industries were nationalised, the workers would still have to organise politically in opposition to the class that owned them, before they could take and hold.

Such a period-if the workers allowed the system to develop so far—would be merely an advanced stage of capitalism. Class ownership of the means of life would still be the basis of the system, and the working class still retain their merchandise character. Wealth still would be produced for profit, and unemployment still be necessary in order that the price of labourpower might be kept at or about the cost of living-the difference between the cost of living and the total wealth produced being the extent to which the workers are robbed.

Such a stage in the development of capitalism could only be productive of increased competiworkers herause concer and monopoly lead to greater economy, which means increased unemployment.

Yet, in spite of this very obvious and logical deduction, we are informed by Mr. Macdonald

workmen will be increased, and there will come a better distribution of wealth

The contradiction must be evident. Unemployment increasing, competition becomes greater, and the workers are, inevitably, more at the mercy of their exploiters: their powers must, therefore, instead of increasing, diminish.

'There wili be," says Mr. Macdonald, "a code of legislation dealing with wages, housing. hours of labour, and so on, and the pressure of that legislation will transform State capitalism into a more human form of national organisa-The State capitalist, according to him. will introduce legislation that will diminish the intensity of the workers' struggle for existence.

It is fairly easy to be optimistic about the possibilities of capitalist philanthropy, somewhere in the future, when one contemplates it from the position of an agent of that class, with a salary of £400 a year, plenty of time to augment this by writing in the capitalists' interests, and with (dare I say it?) "prospects." But the eagerness with which capitalists pursue the question of rate reduction proves that where their interests are pooled, as in nationalisation or municipalisation schemes, their business interesttheir desire for profits or for reduction of rates -will determine their resistance to any conceivable working class reform that will lessen their share of the wealth produced.

That is why a capitalist government will never introduce an insurance bill that really insures the workers against unemployment, or a "right to work" bill that will mean for every worker the right to live under decent conditions. To eliminate competition by either of these methods, or in any other way, would be a form of social suicide which is not in harmony with the nature of the capitalist.

Mr. Macdonald next tells us that "Socialism must adapt itself to the peculiar conditions that exist in different countries." But he does not inform us of any essential difference where all countries are alike capitalist.

He speaks of German Socialism being different from English, as though Socialism were some indefinite creed, to be built up according to fancy, or according to the climate or the physical aspect of the different countries. German labourism may be slightly different from the English brand in the matter of details, but the underlying principles are the same in both countries - to spread confusion among the workers by advocating reforms, and to look for their reward from the class they serve.

Some Labour leaders really believe they have done something practical for the workers when they have taken their seats in the House of Commons. What they really do is to assist the master class to interest the workers in capitalist politics.

The permanence of any system of society depends upon the numbers who are interested, or think they are interested, in maintaining it. Obviously, then, as Socialism cannot be estab lished while capitalism is in existence, the Socislist will decline to bolster up the system he wishes to abolish. By withholding his vote from either capitalist party, by refusing to favoue reforms, or one capitalist policy over another, he leaves purely capitalist questions to be settled by fewer and fewer members of society, until capitalist politics become of diminishing consequence, appear ridiculous because they interest so few, and by that means strike directly at the confidence of the ruling class.

The constitutional form of government depends for its authority and permanence upon the numerical sanction it receives from those it governs. The more workers that support capitalist parties, the firmer and more stable is the

capitalist rule.

Practical politics for the working class mean to organise for control of the rolitical machine. in order to take possession of the means of life. The Government will introduce reforms fast enough when they are threatened with such an organisation. They have not yet commenced to throw any real sops or palliatives to the working class. When they do commence their concessions should be treated with contempt, for they cannot be anything else than paltry in comparson with the object the workers have in view.

The Labour Party denies that the interests of the workers and those of the capitalists are in conflict. To them working class revolution is that, in this very stage, the "powers of the impossible : from their standpoint, therefore,

Socialism, too, is impossible. The real Impossiblists are, for that reason, those who expect to establish Socialism with the assistance of the -master class, and without revolution.

It is this elementary question which has to be recognised first - the fundamental basis of the working-class position - that the Labour Party declines even to discuss. Like the "Christian Socialist," they mouth the "brotherhood of man" and denounce class hatred, posing all the while as pacificators reconciling conflicting interests - regardless of the fact that reconciliation means submission for the workers.

The Labour Party assert that their object is the same as that of the Socialists, although their method is different. They consider this as sufficient reason for declining debates. They are not, however, above the contemptible tricks of the party politicians with whom they are associated. Mr. Macdonald snatches the opportunity afforded him by the publication of Mr. Walling's book "Socialism as it Is." to deal a blow at Socialism from a vantage-ground where he himself is inaccessible - the capitalist Press.

Mr. Walling's book, published at 8s. 6d., is not likely to be widely read by members of the working class, but an attack on Socialism in the "Daily Chronicle" will find many readers.

Under cover of a book review Socialism can be misrepresented; and when the critic sets up for himself the object of his criticism, it is fairly easy to ridicule, or show its fallacy.

Mr. Macdonald, however, only boomerange himself in trying to ridicule Socialism. At the very outset he tells us that "the impossiblist has to admit that his State can only be realised in stages." He forgets that if a thing is impossible it cannot be realised at all.

Next he complains that the Labour Party in this country "have to face in the most awkward way the difficulties of a party which can make public opinion outside, but which sees that public opinion used from time to time by Governments which they cannot control.'

It is only necessary to read the programme of any Labour candidate, with its Liberal policy and reforms, to realise how absurd is this

The Labour members, without exception, obtain their seats by compromise with the Liberals, so much so that Mr. Davis, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, complained that "the Liberal party might be a little more generous in conceding seats in Liberal constituencies where vacancies arise. The Labour Party do not like to be asked to fight only those constituencies where there are strong Tory majorities."

The Liberal Press invariably supports Labour candidates. They stand for Liberalism in the absence of official Liberals. At Hanley the spectacle was witnessed of a Liberal Press unable to make up its mind which to support, leaning, if anything, toward the Labour man. If the Labour Party were a genuine working class party such things could not occur. The capitalist Press would denounce every candidate and the Liberal Party would not allow one seat to go uncontested. It is because Liberal and Labour form one party inside the House that they are so completely united outside.

Mr. Macdonald's claim that the Labour Party makes public opinion is absurd in view of the real facts. They merely assist the Liberals to foster Liberal opinions. The reward for their treachery takes the share of an opportunity to contest, here and there, a seat in the Liberal interest.

nterest.

Socialism is always impossible to the Labour faker, because to confess otherwise prevents his personal ambitions being realised. Seats in the House of Commons and other comfortable jobs are not given in return for Socialist propaganda, but only for capitalist propaganda.

The working class can only achieve their emancipation when they understand Socialist principles, and are determined to follow those principles to their conclusion. But they have first to learn, and the real Impossiblists are those who would teach them something else and at the same time claim that it leads to Socialism.

IMPORTANT NOTICE The Party's Head Office is now at 103, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W.C. essence of which was the situation of a man who

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insettion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The Socialist Standard is published on the last

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standand,



THE BALKAN CONSPIRACY.

To arms! To arms! Thus once again is the "Eastern Question" answered. Turk and Bulgarian, Mohammedan and Christian, are at one another's throats in a frenzy of blood-lust. The clash of arms and the roar of guns once more shake the hills and mountains of the near East, and the cries of wounded and dying men fill fair valleys with horror.

What does it all mean? What has it got to do with us of the working class?

Although some may say it is no affair of ours, we emphatically hold otherwise. Before almost all else we Socialists are internationalists. We belong to the international working class. Our grievance is international; our only hope is international, and our enemy is international also. Hence we are interested in every activity that hurts, hinders, or helps our fellow workers anywhere and everywhere.

The Press, the politicians and the parsons are quite certain the war is the fight of Christian martyrs against the infamies of the Turk! We hear from them much of the gross barbarities, the murders and the miseries, inflicted upon helpless Macedonia by the Terrible Turk. But we are unconvinced. It may all be true. The Christian may be as meek and mild as he is usually painted. All the provocation may be on the side of the unspeakable Turk. But the information is suspect. Black and bad as the crimes of the Turks may be, criticism comes with little grace from Russia, reeking with the blood of butchered workmen, or from Spain, dank yet with her blood feast of Barcelona, or from Italy, washing her hands after her callous inhumanities in Tripoli, or from France or Germany where as late as this year even, peaceful gatherings of unarmed workers have been ruthlessly crushed with the sword, or from Belgium with her Congo record, or from Britain whose capital has almost blotted a people out in the Putomayo district of Peru, with every fiendish cruelty that could be cheaply inflicted.

To mouth the horrors of Armenia, to point to the infamies of the Sultan in Macedonia, as do those who are trying to find excuses for this stupendous waste of working-class life, it is quite obvious, is nothing but sheerest humbug. Why, then, this war?

Montenegro was the first with its declaration of war—a country with under 250,000 inhabitants—not, in that repect, the equal of the London suburb, West Ham—and as poor as the oft quoted church mouse. Where did she get her armaments? Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, every one of them poor—who backed them and why?

Why did Russia take up the Montenegrin war loan? Why did "The Powers" take up the Bulgarian loan? Were they moved to do so by the promptings of humanity? Read the cynical

answer in the story of past wars.

Japan fought Russia for the forests of Manchuria. Korea helped Japan — now Korea belongs to Japan. The United States fought Spain ostensibly on the ground of the Cuban "horrors," and the Yankee Eagle has his beak in the hearts of the Cubans and the Phillipinos.

The English Government "sought neither goldfields nor territory" in South Africa, but the Transvaal and the Orange Free State went the way of Zululand and the Basutos country—and it was the wrongs of the Uitlanders, who hadn't got the vote, that justified the war!

Every brutal and bloody gang of rulers, sitting armed on the backs of their own groaning. bleeding and starving multitudes, have sobbed and slobbered and shed crocodile's tears over the suffering subjects of the Sultan. Austria was so shocked by the miseries of the poor people of Bosnia and Herzegovina that she had to soothe her feelings by "annexing" both these countries. Britain also has been sorely troubled over the horrors perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire, so the Cross relieved the Crescent of Egypt and Cyprus. Russia wrung her hands in agony, and then laid them on Bessarabia. That monument to Garibaldi's genius, A United Italy, itched to stop the villainies of the Porte, so she seized Tripoli at the admitted cost of 9,000 Italian workers' lives, and goodness knows what cost to "the enemy," if we are to believe the Italian boasts of slaughter.

Have we answered the question of why this war? It is the old story of Grab! The monopolists of the means of life are out for plunder. Already the "Daily News and Leader" has published a possible division list of the spoils—of the division of Macedonia—the filching of Turish territory.

The world's financiers, the world's brigands, are seeking wider fields for exploitation. The owners of the New World are grasping at the old. Bulgarian peasants, Servian toilers, Grecian slaves, are to sacrifice their lives to provide plunder for the moneyed tyrants of Europe. Women of our class are to be widowed, children to be orphaned, homes to be desolated, to make a masters' holiday. Hence the war fever is aroused, religious rivalries stirred up, racial hatreds and jealousies fanned to fury by judicious but unscrupulous lying—and all that Macedonia may go the way of Persia.

We counsel our toiling brothers of the Balk kans, be their religion what it may, to seriously ask themselves who really is to benefit by this war. The "Powers," who so applaud their "heroism," who affect such pained surprise at each new enormity of the Porte, could have prevented those enormities, could have prevented this war, if they had been in agreement upon anything else than the desire for plunder. But they were not. For a generation they have been sitting like vultures on the mountain tops waiting for a beakful of carrion. For a generation they have carefully treasured every discordant ele ment that could possibly engender strife and evolve into "atrocity" because they knew that out of that strife and "atrocity," sooner or later, would come the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, and the attendant rich pickings for whoever was strong enough to take them.

Make no mistake about it—the "Powers" wanted war. Just as the Christian religion has been the stalking horse of European diplomacy for the last half century, preserving ever fresh the excuse of "Turkish misrule," so now the Balkan States are the stalking horse of that same callous diplomacy. If that diplomacy has not entirely overreached itself; if it has not set up in this Balkan League a power it is afraid to tackle; if the fruits of its machinations have not developed into something beyond its control, then the plums of the Turkish cake will find their way into the insatiable maws of the "powers" at last.

The lesson of it all for the workers is that nothing in the world is sacred that stands in the way of capitalist aggrandisement—which is spelt: "Profits." In pursuit of profits no crime is too stupendous to be undertaken. We have examples of this everywhere, from the supplying of poisonous provisions to American troops by American contractors during the War of Independence, to the deliberate raising of the load line of ships by the present British Government.

Some years ago a novel was published, the

had a great fortune within his reach if he would, by the mere pressure of an electric button, slay an unknown man many thousands of miles away. The book created something of a sensation—which shows how very ignorant are the average man and woman of the obvious facts of the world about them. The situation depicted by the author presented nothing new. It just reduced to the private individual the situation groups of the dominant section of society are always finding themselves in, with, of course, different details—the situation they use all their diplomatic forces to place themselves in. In the pursuit of this end every known means is exploited without compunction. Religion pages

exploited without compunction. Religion, patriotism, greed—any human emotion will serve. Hence the Jameson raid as a 'prelude to the South African War—it roused the "patriotic" fervour of the "bull-dog breed" to frenzy. Hence religious strife has been fostered in the Near East by the great Eroupean powers, in order to provide the excuse that it was the Cross against the Crescent.

It doesn't need the inducement of a great fortune for the button of murder to be pressed in our modern civilisation. We have just been told the price English capital sets upon human life. The silk hats of Throgmorton Street have manipulated the button which sent a Peruvian native to death for—guess what—two hundredweight of rubber! In the Congo human beings were much cheaper. Every fourteen pounds of Congo rubber produced under the auspices of that moral turpitude, the late King of Belgium,

cost one human life.

For the mines of Morocco hundreds of French soldiers went to their doom. The armies of Russia and Japan died on account of forest concessions in Manchuria in the hands of a few Russian nobles. An English court of enquiry has just found that 23 British seamen were sacrificed for the freightage on 160 tons of overload cargo. The chairman of the Consolidated Mines spoke volumes when he told his shareholders some thirteen years ago that a victory for the British arms in the war then raging (S. Africa) would mean £4,000,000 a year in extra profits.

Workers of the world, it is necessary for you to understand these things in order that you may penetrate the curtain of excuses behind which it is endeavoured to hide the real reasons for this new butchery. You see from the above how much value the rulers anywhere set on the lives of the workers. What, then, think you, are the sufferings of Macedonian Christians to them? They would press the murder button on the lot for the sake of a concession to run a railway over their corpses.

The working class of the world has only one enemy—the master class. We call earnestly upon all working men and women to join with us for the overthrow of that enemy.

To arms!

THE "INTELLECTUALS" AND PARTY PRINCIPLES.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

[The decision of the Chemnitz Congress to exclude Hildebrandt from the German Social-Democratic Party has done more than simply provide subject for comment in the capitalist and proletarian journals and reviews. It has given rise to a protest manifesto supported by a hundred Revisionists, who pretend to see in the expulsion an attack on freedom of opinion and the "rights of science."

Kautsky had already shown in the New Zeit that the charge of "excommunication" is absurd. He replies to the manifesto of Bernstein, Frank, Südekum, and company in another article, of which the second part has too wide a bearing not to be given in translation to our readers. Its interest is general.

After having demolished the complaint of intolerance by showing that nobody has in any way prevented, or been able to prevent, Hildebrandt from publishing what he likes, he makes an end of the "rights of science." Does an opinion of no matter what kind, when covered

by a scientific cleak, thereby confer the right to be a member of the party? How many times has Socialism been condemned in "the name of science?" Can we do that and yet remain in the party? Can one with impunity oppose "scientific" results to the party's action against imperialism, colonial wars, the madness of armament, and the like? He then raises the question and goes into causes, and it is this second portion that will be read below. — BRACKE.]

November, 1912.

Their protest will, on the contrary, arouse energetic opposition because, under pretence of safeguarding the liberties of science, it claims something else. It claims that those who are, or claim to be, men of science, shall be freed from the discipline of ordinary comrades having only an "inferior and limited reasoning power."

And that is the point. The recent manifesto is only another effort to secure special privileges for "intellectuals" in the party.

At first it was asked that members of Parliament, especially those in the provincial Diets, be not bound by party decisions. Next it was Socialist mayors who should be put above the reach of such decisions. Now it is the Congress which should no longer have the right to say what opinions are Socialist and what are not, when the opinions are those of an "intellectual" who knows how to write books.

The intellectuals would have all the rights of a party comrade but not his duties.

The men of scientific research calmly leave the duties to the proletariat.

There is no need to be an admirer of "horny-

There is no need to be an admirer of "horny-handed" politics in order to congratulate ourselves that the workers have always repulsed the pretension of the "intellectuals" to a privileged position in the party, as, it is to be hoped, they will repulse such pretensions in future.

Indeed, such demands will be made more and more. We must see in them a phenomenon inherent in the growth of the Party.

That "intellectuals" who come to us find themselves soon or late in discord with the party for some reason or other is nothing unusual. Such a thing happens much more rarely with proletarians because the necessities of the class struggle hold them more naturally.

So long as the party was small, and the work done accessorily, and the number of Parliamentary mandates in its gift was small, so long the separation of an individual from the party was easy and painless. But it is another story today, when the party disposes of so many mandates and editorships, and so many existences are attached to it. The separation of an individual can then become a painful operation, and it is natural that more than one, finding himself in contradiction with the party, seeks to avoid expulsion by getting the party to relax its principles. If he does not succeed he sees in it an insupportable hindrance to his liberty of opinion.

Another factor—perhaps even more important—has the same effect; I refer to the constant intensification of class oppositions.

So long as our party, and also the trade unions, were weak, sympathy for the masses played a great role in the hourgeois world. This sympathy diminishes as the proletariat becomes stronger and the capitalist world more threatened. All those "friends of the worker" who desired an amelioration of the working class and at the same time remained bourgeois in their way of thinking owing to their inability to conceive another method of production than the present. lose little by little all echo among the capitalist class. In order to act effectively they feel themselves constrained to go toward the only party in which it is practicable to show a love of the worker-the Socialist Party. But with all the good will, all the loyalty possible, their activity is not profitable.

What the "intellectuals" can bring to the proletariat is solely a superior scientific knowledge. But it is just that which cannot give the elements to one unable to surmount bourgeois narrowness of view. Their intelligence only allows them to graft bourgeois ideas on those of the proletariat, to bring confusion and dispute, and a weakening of the class struggle.

They would be valuable if they remained in the bourgeois camp and acted there in the interest of the working class. That, I admit, is rendered increasingly difficult by the growing

1 There are 71 Socialist dailies in Germany.-B.

class antagonism; but it is, nevertheless, not impossible. And all that they might do there for the workers would be so much gained.

We have only to reflect on a certain Abber who rendered eminent service; yet he would only have done harm if he had got it into his head to lead a political campaign in our ranks.

Notwithstanding this, attempts are constantly being made in such a direction by people not qualified. Indeed, the hope of getting thus into universal consideration by the easiest possible way is not the least attraction of such a course.

The capitalist Press makes haste to day to signal with a flourish of trumpets everything that can be regarded, in our party, as a step taken toward capitalist ideas. Writers who would be completely ignored if, as Liberals, they had expounded Liberal ideas, are glorified to the skiewhen they publish such ideas as members of the Socialist Party. What a great man Caliver was so long as he called himself a Socialist. Since he ceased to have that title his very name is forgotten.

And that is the great danger that threatens the "scientific research" of people like Hildebraudt! Their science loses all its value and ceases to interest anybody the moment they no longer belong to the party. What caused attention to be paid to the "research" of Hildebrandt was not its importance as knowledge, but simply the fact that a Socialist was able to proclaim such anti-Socialist ideas!

Their scientific value is the slightest possible. Not a single comrade, so far as I know, agrees with his opinions. His friends certainly say that his ideas are of the highest scientific value, but they add that they are false. What an accession to our scientific knowledge!

We find in the "Worker's Voice" the following summary:—

"The views of Hildebrandt have not been approved nor even defended from any part of the Congress. Even those comrades who spoke against his expulsion separated themselves completely from him on the facts. Comrade Müller (of Munich) declared: 'This book, whose tendencies are shared neither by me nor by any other member of the Commission . . . 'etc., and further on: 'I hold these economic considerations to be absolutely inconclusive.' the same way Comrade Gradnauer said: 'Hildebrandt represents ideas which are, indeed, very different from those held by the rest of the party.' Again, Comrade Heine said : 'Hildebrandt is a lost child with whom I identify myself in no way.' Before the Congress, Hellmann (of Chemnitz) had already declared at a Party meeting that Hildebrandt's book was, scientifically speaking, practically worth-

Very true! All its value consists in that the man who wrote it had the right to call himself a Socialist, and to be considered by the capitalist Press as a proof that Social-democracy began to deny its own aims and convictions. This cheap advertisement is now lost to Hildebrandt. That is undoubtedly very unpleasant for him, but it can hardly be a barrier to scientific research. We can, however, understand the painful feelings of more than one signatory of the protest, whose scientific importance rests on no other foundation.

Given the circumstances, we must expect that there will constantly emerge from our midst, "intellectuals" who, seeking certain ends by certain means, will try to throw down the barriers set up by our party. Political evolution constantly prepares and widens the ground for these attempts; it is, in fact, prepared by the very nature of intellectual labour.

In my booklet on the Social R volution I have already indicated that the evolution of material production increasingly prepares the ground for Communism, but that intellectual production develops the tendency to individualism and aparable.

I came thus to the conclusion that "the type of a Socialist method of production is Commu-

² Ernest Abbe, who died a few years ago, was one of the directors of the famous Zeiss optical factory at Jena. To him are due several, useful things for the workers. For example, the Volkshaus, where congresses and meetings are held, is a legacy from him.—B.

³ Richard Caliver, a plucky revisionist, who warmly defended the fiscal policy of the Empire. He had finally to leave the party. nism in material, and Anarchism in intellectual production."

This opposition between the consequences of material and intellectual production has an effect on the activity of our party. Men engaged in material production are much more easily organised and disciplined than those in intellectual production. The latter are always inclined to be undisciplined and Anarchist.

This must be understood, but not condoned, in a party organised for the class struggle.

We can have no need of any intellectuals but those able and willing to submit to the discipline necessitated by the class struggle. He who cannot do this may be an excellent man, or even perhaps a scientist of some eminence; but he is worth nothing as a Socialist. Such a man must seek his ideal outside our organisation.

(Translated from Le Socialisme by F.C.W.)

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM.

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

APHORISM VII.

As all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working - class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The political machine, as we have endeavoured to show, is essentially an instrument of class government. It does not anywhere come into existence until society has assumed a class form—until there has developed within society a class who govern and a class who are governed.

The political machine exists to preserve order in society according to the existing basis of that society; but just as there can exist sections with opposing sectional interests within the ruling class of a given society, so that political machinery can be wielded in different directions to further the several interests of those warring sections of the ruling class—and that without in any way threatening the social base.

Political parties consist of those who desire to gain control of, or at least to exert their influence upon, the political machine, in order to advance their interests as they understand them.

But if it appears from this that political parties rather indicate sectional than class interests, it must not be forgotten that this is merely because these parties, comprising sections of the ruling class, are at one with the basis upon which their position as a ruling class is founded.

Though it is true that each of these sections will use the political machinery in a slightly different way, this difference can only apply to matters of mere superficial detail. In anything deeper than this every political party among the ruling class stands for the interest of that ruling class.

This is inevitable. Before these sections can exist as such those comprised in them must be a ruling class. Before the landed interest can clash with the manufacturing interest both the landowner and the factory-owner must be established in privilege on a private property basis. Before Tariff Reform or Protection can become the burning question of the day, those whose sectional interest is wrapped up in either detail of capitalism must first have their deeper interests identified with and founded upon, the capitalist system.

The class interest, therefore, is paramount; in the last resort it overshadows all sectional interests. Indeed, the fact that sectional interests loom so large in capitalist party politics at the present day is no proof of the importance of those interests, but is evidence only of the weakness of the pressure exerted politically by the opposing class.

The truth of this is seen in the tendency of capitalists to "close the ranks" against any political party which, in fact or in their idea, threatens their class interest, and the increasing pressure of the organised political party of the working class is destined to reveal with the ut

nicety. How old are you? Where were you

children have you? How long have you been

out of work? Some working men think they

are free. Probably they have the childish notion

that it is a fine thing to carry tickets and to have

But after all it must be a question of your

servile position in society. Even the person who

is lucky enough to be able to purchase a season

ticket must feel a certain amount of pride in

passing the ticket puncher with the noble utter-

ance - "Season." Now it must be that the more

we are ticketed and labelled the more we are

chained to the Juggernaut car of capitalism.

How would you have it? You want a decent

meal, a good suit of clothes, a pretty home for

your wife and children. What prevents you

having these things? This-you have not the

right ticket. You have not the ticket that gives

you the power to say to this man "go!" and to

that man "come!" Your ticket is the ticket o

the slave. And therefore, as might be expected,

with sending the slave owners to Parliament-

the place fro n which are sent all the things that

hurt you, because those who control at the seat

of government are the masters' agents. Comical

to relate, you got quite excited over placing your

enemy where he could injure you without show-

ing his hand. For every movement of troops,

every movement of police, are controlled by the

dominant class whose power was gained with

But when you are forced to look idly on at

blacklegs taking your ticket of leave to work off

the check-board, that is the time you tell us you

are fighting the masters. How you must hurt

them! Perhaps it is you who drive them "out

of town "-down to Ascot, to Henley, to the

Alps and the Reviera, to Cairo and Khartoum.

But when you understand that the Government

is only an instrument for conserving the mas-

ters' interests you will not have the cheek to

say you are seriously fighting the masters while

you elect them to Parliament, to control the poli-

tical machine, to wield the forces that subdue

you while they deliberately starve you and your

wife and children. You would realise that you

No, it is not fighting -it is just suicide. Life

is too short to "wait and see." Just fight them

hardest when they coax you most, when they call

you sons of the Empire, and so on. That is at

election times. Have the right ticket for your

selves then, and buck it with all the strength

and intelligence at your command. You will be

then be on the road to putting all the other

tickets on the fire, and bidding adieu to many

forms of vice and crime which go to the make-

are only playing at war.

up of getting a living.

You have only been concerned up to now

you work like a slave and live like one.

people think they are somewhat above Blatch

ford's bottom dog.

What was your father? How many

a united party at bay with revolution. There are certain so-called political parties, such as the I.L.P., the B.S.P., and the Labour Party, and in Scotland the S.L.P., who, it might be argued, are not covered by the above remarks. but in reality these have no separate political existence. Two of them are nothing but mere appendages of the Liberal Party, one is trying which wing of the capitalist bird of prey it car find most comfort (if any) under. As for the remaining group, they have postponed political action until it will not be required—until the workers have gained in the teeth of the political machine all that they could gain with it. They have cut their political throats with the anarchist razor, and by this contribution to anarchy, to say nothing of other matters, have added their service to the preservation of capitalism.

As a matter of fact all political parties must express the interest of one or other of the only two classes in society. In this connection Frederic Engels finely says ("Origin of the Family," [Kerr & Co.] p. 211): "For as long as the oppressed class, in this case the proletariat, is not ripe for its economic emancipation, just so long will its majority regard the existing order of society as the only one possible, and form the tail, the extreme left wing, of the capitalist class"

This is strictly, and therefore, not only was it inevitable that these pseudo Socialist and Labour parties, composed, as they are, of a working class element which is "not ripe for its economic emancipation," should express capitalist interests, but it was inevitable that they should express the sectional brand of capitalist class interest appertaining to the particular phase of capitalism by which they are immediately environe—namely, the manufacturing interest, as expressed in the Liberal Party.

expressed in the Liberal Party.

Hence, despite their pretended hostility at the moment, the eventual destination of the B.S.P. is the Liberal fold—just as soon as its leaders can get their price.

The political activities of all who are not ripe for their economic emancipation must necessarily express capitalist interest, for the simple reason that they are helping to maintain the existing order of society. This is so even if they managed to gain admission to a sound, revolutionary organisation. There they work out the ruling-class interest by weakening the revolutionary attack—probably the worst form opposition to working-class emancipation can take.

The interests expressed or reflected, and striven for, by all political parties, therefore, fall into two groups—capitalist and working-class. These are diametrically opposed, since they involve slavery on the one hand and emancipation on the other. The position of the party seeking working-class emancipation, then, must clearly be one of uncompromising hostility to all other political parties. It does not materially matter whether these parties are organisations of working men with capitalist minds or avowedly capitalist organisations with a working-class tail.

The object of the last is to secure workingclass suffrage, because, as Engels puts it : "The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage"-and the vast bulk of that suffrage is working-class. In this object they find, increasingly as the workers get a dim idea that their masters' politics are not their own, great assistance in the psuedo-Socialist parties. These, led by men on the look-out for billets and personal aggrandisement, spread confusion by teaching the workers that the difference between themselves and their masters is merely one of personality, and not of class, principle, and system; that the difference between their interests and their masters' is so slight that for the "immediate end" of getting a Labour leader into Parliament that difference can be composed, the battle stopped, and the two rival classes work together politically.

This is, where it is conscious, the worst form of treachery, in as much as it prevents the working class realising the fundamental antagonism of interests between themselves and their exploiters. It prevents them, therefore, becoming "ripe for their economic emancipation," and from organising politically as a class apart from and hostile to those who hold them in bondage, ever seeking, working, fighting, for deliverance

from their chains

Again, as Engels says: "Universal suffrage the gauge of the maturity of the working class." The ballot is indeed the means of gauging the working class strength and maturity, and for that reason it must be kept free from compromise and the entanglement of alliances. It must stand as the clear index of the progress made by working-class consciousness, the clock ticking off the last moments of our long slavery. To this purpose it is sacred. If, however, it is to have any significance of this character, it must indicate a working-class mind free from the obsession of capitalist illusions. This is a final reason why the party seeking workingclass emancipation must be hostile to every other political party.

The political struggle of the workers must of necessity be waged along class lines, for it is one form of the highest phase of the class struggle. It is on the political field that the sternest battle of all is to be fought. That fight is not for mere votes as such, but for the enthroning of the REVOLUTIONARY IDEA in every seat of power. The enemy, then, is no less the political ignorance of our own class than the educated master class, therefore we must attack that ignorance, even when it is organised in so-called working class political parties, just as relentlessly as we attack the orthodox parties of our masters.

A. E. Jacomb.

THE WEAPONS OF CAPITALISM.

In considering any phase of life, no matter whether it happens to be political, economic, scientific, moral or artistic, it is primarily necessary that a definite standpoint shall be taken from which such particular phase shall be examined. Before it is possible to criticise one must have a standard on which such criticism can be based. Before a true conception of any phenomenon is possible one must possess a clear-cut and unasciable philosophy of life.

sailable philosophy of life.

"Know thyself" was the advice given by the Greek philosopher, Thales, nearly three thousand years ago, and this advice still holds good. Indeed, without self knowledge a man might have pretty nearly all the learning possible on any subject, yet remain a mental dyspeptic, quite unable to assimilate the results of his studies. One has only to think of the many professorial pedants, prominent within their own narrow circle and yet utterly divorced from the realities of life, to realise this truth.

The Socialist philosophy gives, or should give to its adherents this clearly defined outlook, this power to see life steadily and see it whole, without which all criticism becomes undynamic and therefore useless, all effort negated. Knowing exactly where he stands, always keeping in view the fact that his aim in life is the hastening of the disintegration of capitalism, and at that disintegration to be in a position to do his share in establishing the Socialist Commonwealth, the Socialist should be quite competent to examine on its merits, every fresh phase of life as it arises, and should, moreover, be capable of assimilating into his philosophical outlook whatever his examination tells him is beneficial to his career as a Socialist, rejecting that which is harmful or merely superfluous.

Keeping this in mind, it will be seen that there is really nothing that can be said to be too unimportant to go through the fire of Socialist criticism. Any new movement in, say, Art, or Science, or Politics, that may arise, although superficially seeming to be only of interest to those choice spirits within capitalist circles and to have little or no bearing on the working class position, will assuredly be found suggestive to the Sccialist as a reflex of the development of capitalism, and also in its reactionary effect on Society as a whole, ergo, on the larger part of Society—the working class.

The increase in motor traffic or the post-impressionist craze; the land-tax agitation or the presidential address at the recent scientific conference at Dundee; the proposed opening of theatres and music balls on Sunday or the Mental Deficiency Bill, all have their significance as being the outcome and reflex of capitalist development, as showing the trend of that development, and, as aforesaid, in their reactionary relation to Society in its entirety.

The expensive monthly and quarterly reviews (which can mostly be seen at the public libraries) no less—rather more if anything—than the halpenny morning and evening newspapers; the advanced (!) drama no less than the popular melodrama or music hall performance; the meetings held by scientific and philosophical societies no less than the Lloyd Georgian or street-corner assemblies, have their importance for the Socialist, as well as for the non-Socialist, worker. Indeed, it is the very things that are generally supposed by members of the working class to be of no significance to them that are often the most significant.

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If it were possible, for instance, for some of us carefully excluded workers to obtain access to a meeting of the Privy Council, or some secret meeting of the capitalists and their hangers on, we should probably there learn more about the methods by which we are held in our slavery than by attending dozens of publicly called political meetings—certainly if such meetings were held under Tory and Liberal (including "Labour" of course) apprices

Labour," of course) auspices. What we Socialists have to do it to get hold, as far as is humanly possible, of whatever in the way of politics, or science, or literature, is sought to be withheld from us; to obtain a knowledge of what we are not expected to know. We have thrown to us the worst of food, the worst of clothing, the worst of shelter. And, in 'literature," we get such offal as is provided by "The Daily Express," "The Daily Chronicle "Tit-Bits," "Answers," and such-like vile and ennervating stuff. In "art" what more do we want than that poster, scattered broadcast by the Liberal Insurance Committee, showing some of the million mothers who will benefit to the extent of 30s. under that marvellous piece of legislation, the Insurance Act?

We want to understand capitalism in its complexity and the movements of capitalism, and to do this we must get in amongst the capitalists themselves, know what their point of view is, read their papers and reviews, get to understand their political moves, their view of economics, their literature and their art. We shall have to take and use for ourselves in the warfare we are waging, any and every weapon. If the capitalist weapons, meant to be used against us, are better and more powerful than any we can hope to forge (more often than not they are) it is our business to endeavour to take and wield for our own advantage any such as can be wrested from them. Yes, we want to understand all about these enemies of ours, to find out their weak spots, so that, when the time is ripe, we may strike at the least expected and most vulnerable points. If we are going to win we shall have to give up kid glove methods. It is rather foolish to attack on opponent with a battle-axe (kindly provided, possibly, by the opponent himself) while he is cleverly defending his position with a Gatling-gun.

The present writer urges, therefore, the necessity for the Socialist to use every effort to obtain access to whatever the capitalists contend is not meant for him; to pick the brains the capitalists themselves possess or have managed to buy, even as they (the capitalists) exploit the brain and muscle of the workers in the mill and factory. It is the business of us who are Socialists to find out everything, even when it appears to have no direct message for us, and an examination in the light of the Socialist philosophy will very soon show us what to reject as useless, or merely inane, and what to retain for the use we may be able to make of it.

And then—we shall perhaps, some of us, look back on the struggle when Socialism has at last been attained, and realise that the intellectual weapons, possessed, or bought, or stolen by the capitalists and thought to be used only for the furthering of their own cause, have actually contributed to their system's downfall. Some of us, it may be, will even find a good deal of satisfaction—ironical, but very human—in such a realisation.

F. J. Webb.

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

An Economic Class will be held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8, commencing October 11th. All intending students should endeavour to be present at the earlier meeting, otherwise ground is lost which it is difficult to recover.

ONE MACPHERSON.

The professional Liberal scribes are very busy just now endeavouring to persuade all and sundry that their land policy, as yet undefined, will benefit all sections of the working class. Their professional "economists" likewise try to show how the question of "land monopoly" is the root of all evil, and no matter what we may be politically, we must all support the "Great Liberal Party" who are going to remove the root.

One Hector Macpherson, writing in "Reynolds's" (15.9.12) appeals for Socialist support and endeavours to show that the first step a Socialist must take is in the direction of breaking up this "land monopoly." He says:—

"Socialists declare for a policy of nationalisation: Liberals for a policy of taxation. Socialists want to buy out the landlords. Liberals, on the other hand, do not want the land, but rather the value of the land, using it for the common good."

Neither statement is correct. Socialists have never declared for the nationalisation of the land because they know that that would simply mean that the land which is now held by the capitalist class individually would then be held by the capitalist class collectively. Such being the case, any benefits accruing from such collective ownership will go, not to the toilers who use the land, but to the idlers own it.

In what way should we benefit in the event of the land being "transferred" to the State? The price of land (virgin soil) is determined by the demand for it. In a locality where there is a great demand for it land will command a relatively high price. The worker who wants land cannot get it to-day because the capitalist can offer more for it; and under State control, as now, the man with the money will get the land, and the offer of the worker will be rejected.

And as to taxation, it is easily seen that while the industrial capitalist may benefit by taxing land values, thereby forcing his "sleeping partner"—the landlord—to pay more towards the upkeep of the country, etc., the working class will be no better off unless the amount collected is spent in their interest. Have we any evidence to show that such will be done?

Money has been raised by Liberal taxation for the purpose of providing armies and Dreadnoughts and police truncheons. Army and Navy and police force have been used to terrorise and butcher the workers, but the condition of the working class, as Mr. Lloyd George himself is compelled to admit (Cardiff speech, 1911) is worse than ever before. The wealth of the country increases—Liberals admit it, glory in it. The poverty of the workers increases, and Liberals are forced to admit that too. So with Liberal rule and taxation in the past, and Liberal rule and taxation in the present, the working class is poor and its poverty is increasing.

The Liberal party, if it succeeds in its land policy, will use the proceeds "for the common good" of the Liberals and of the capitalists generally, and the workers will be left in the cold. Of course, such is the policy of the Liberals.

Then the "Socialists" (those who want "to buy out the landlords") "talk of a kind of universal minimum wage which will only be possible under a Socialistic government. Liberals think they can see a way of procuring these boons [universal minimum wage, better housing, etc.] without the revolutionary methods of Socialism, and a beginning has been made by the land clauses in the Budget."

Having foisted this rubbish upon the Socialist, Hector proceeds to demolish it, and after declaring that the Liberals are out for the same thing, he tries to show that it is impossible. His knowledge of economics, however, is very shaky.

shaky.

First of all he shows that Asquith and the Liberal Government are bunglers because: "Wages cannot be fixed by any Government, however Socialistically inclined." Yet the Liberal party have tried to fix a minimum wage! "Wages in the long run are fixed by supply and demand. If a capitalist needs 10 men and 20 apply, what happens? The men compete against each other and it is they, and not the capitalist, who bring down wages."

This is true only in so far as the price of the commodity labour-power cannot fall far or for long below the cost of production. Otherwise our economist has to explain why wages are higher in America than in Germany and England, with surplus labour power more plentiful in the former than in the latter countries. Wages are determined by the cost of the production and reproduction of the labourer, and over-supply merely tends to keep wages down to the level of subsistence.

After this our Liberal scribe go s right off his base, as instance:

"Suppose that the Socialistic government enacts that the ten men are to get a fixed rate, what is to become of the other ten? Their services are not needed and unless they are to starve they must be kept at the expense of the industrious workers."

It would seem that the solution to the "enormous" difficulty, should it arise, is fairly easy to any intelligent person. For instance, if you cut down the time of the first ten by half and give one half of the work to the other ten men, then obviously their services would be needed, or if starvation would result from their idleness, why not let them all work? What happens today? If there is work for ten men and twenty apply, the ten who are taken on work twice as long as is necessary and the other ten "have to be kept at the expense of the industrious workers," unless they are to starve.

The solution is quite simple. It is the present chaotic system that confuses. Let each man do his share of the necessary work, increasing his hours of labour when necessary to produce a sufficient amount of wealth or reducing them when it is found that the needs of society are being more than met. The "difficulty" is then overcome. Of course, our critic did not think of that. The devil of it is that these people never do—I suppose it hurts them.

The problem Mr. Macpherson supposes will never arise, because under Socialism the "Government" will not pay "fixed rates of wages," Socialism implies the abolition of wages, fixed or movable. While the working class is divorced, not only from the soil, but from the instruments necessary for the production of wealth, the workers will be forced to hire themselves out for wages. So long as they do that they will be slaves—slaves to those who hire them; slaves to those who can pick out this man and that from among them and say: "These men shall live, for we will give the n food, clothing, and shelter; but those men shall not live, for we, your masters, have no need of them."

And, while the working class, the great mass of the people, are slaves, we cannot bave Socialism, because Socialism means the control of things by the community, and not control of men by the few.

Under Socialism production will be carried on for the creation of things for use, not of objects for sale. But there are none so blind as—those who write for the capitalist Press.

TICKETS PLEASE.

It gives one quite a start when one is thinking

of the Derby winner, or speculating on the

prospect of a day or two next summer at the

sea-side, whilst travelling home from work, to

be asked for one's ticket. What a blessing it

would be, I sometimes think, to pay once and

for all and have a ticket for a lifetime-just one

punch and the trick is done - and then to keep

t under a glass case as a proof to the coming

Tickets for trams, trains, 'busses; tickets for

soup, coal, blankets; State Insurance tickets,

Labour Exchange tickets, Trade Union tickets,

pawn tickets; tickets to stand up in the theatre,

tickets to sit down in the park. Tickets for the

widow of Jack Thomas, who worked hard all his

life, but died and left -what? Nothing of

value in this private propety system -just nine

the brass collar to let all and sundry know that

they were the property of some overlord. Now

we are ticketed and numbered and punched and

shelved and stamped and cut and trimmed to a

What a life! At one time our forebears wore

race that we lived in ticket-of-leave times.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED-

your help.

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "New York Call" (New York).

 "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "The Star of the East" (Melbourne).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "The New World" (West Ham).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly."

ILFORD BRANCHS.P.G.B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS
Will be continued throughout the year.

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

ILFORD STATION.

THURSDAY EVENINGS
AT SAME SPOT.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

		(LONDON	DISTRICT.)		
SUNDAYS.		3rd.	10th.	17th.	24th.
Battersea, Prince's Head Edmonton Green Finsbury Park Forest Gate. (Station) Hyde Park (Marble Arch) Ilford "(station) Manor Park, Earl of Essex Paddington, Prince of Wales Peckham Triangle Bloke-hevington, Ridley Rd., Dalsten. Tooting Broadway Tottenham, West Green Cnr. Walham Green Church Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 7.30 7.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 11.30	J Roe J. G. Stone A. W. Pearson A. Anderson A. Tims F. J. Rourke A. Bays J. Brown J. Fitzgerald A. Jacobs A. Kohn B. Young C. Ginger A. Barker H. Joy A. Hoskyns T. W. Allen C. Elliott W. Lewington	S. Elliott S. Blake C. Ginger A. Hoskyns A. Jacobs A. Tims F. Vickers C. Parker R. Fox A. Cox F. Leigh T. W. Allen A. Anderson J. Roe J. G. Stone A. Pearson A. Bays B. Young F. J. Rourke	A. Barker J. Fitzgerald A. Anderson A. Kohn C. Parker T. W. Allen F. Leigh B. Young F. J. Rourke A. Tims A. Hoskyns E. Lake T. W. Lobb S. Blake A. Barker C. Ginger F. Vickers A Kohn A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn H. Cooper A. Bays A. Anderson J. Brown J. G. Stone J. Firzgerald R. Hhghes R. Hughes C. Parker J. Elliot R. Fox T. W. Allen H. Joy H. Cooper A. Kohn A. W. Pearson E. Llake C. Ginger
" "	7.30	R. Fox	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	J. Wray

MONDAYS.-Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.-East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.-Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. World's End, Chelse, 8.30 **SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA .- F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W. BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman,

33 Britania-rd. CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should he sent to the General Secretary.

BARLSFIELD .- R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd. Garratt-la. Branch meets 20. Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Wods. 8 p.m. EAST HAM .- Communications to Sec., at Hartley-

Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m. BDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street,

FULHAM.-All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every

Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care

of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Secretary, care of W. Prentis & Co., Broadway Chambers, Ilford. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford. All communications to secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144,

Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited. MARYLEBONF. A. Kohn, Sec. 24, Carburton-sreet, W. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 6.30, at

Head Offiice, 193 Grays Inn-road. PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., atp.m. at 381, Harrow

Road, W. (side door).

PBCKHAM.—R. J.Millar, Secry, 80, Haymerle-road,
Peckham. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy.

Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. TOOTING.—W. Thomas, Sec., 47 Woodbury-street, Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at

Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction. TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening HAMSTOW.-D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 24, F

road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8. at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st. WATFORD -G. Dodman, Sec., 18. Elfrida Road

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM .- All communications to H. Tate. 76, First Avenue, Plaistow. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St. Upton Park.

459, Green St. Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 280, High Road. Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall., Brookerd., Wood Green.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth h and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT

BRITAIN HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslave ment of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only oy the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of he working-class itself.

• That as the machinery of government, includng the armed forces of the nation, exists only to onserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government national and local, in order that this machinery including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, JETE fore, enters the field of political action deter mined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

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SYNDICALISM, ITS CAUSE AND CURE. A REVIEW.

"SYNDICALISM AND THE GENERAL STRIKE." By Arthur D. Lewis. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 7s. 6d.

As the only party in Great Britain that has taken up a definite and consistent attitude toward Anarchism in all its forms, it is meet that we should have something to say on the latest work on Syndicalism that has been published.

We have adopted a frankly hostile policy toward this latest importation for the simple reason that we are a Socialist party. The sorry plight of those so-called Socialist bodies like the B.S.P. and the I.L.P. is a natural result of their lack of principles based on a correct knowledge of the position of our class. Inside the former body there is a heated controversy, both among the "leaders" and the rank and file, as to whether Syndicalism is the road for the workers to travel. The curious position of the I.L.P. is shown by their advocacy of the General Strike at the International Labour Congress as a weapon against

The cause of Syndicalism lies in the history of these and similar parties. In the Blatchford section they have literally bred Syndicalism by their disgusting election tricks, so often exposed in these pages. Their former members, now Syndicalists, point to the vote hunting, compromising campaigns of Bethnal Green and Northampton, along with others, as showing the failure and danger of political action. The Independent Labour Party, too, has so treacherously played the part of advance agents of the Liberal party that from political opportunism their supporters right-about-turn to denounce political, action altogether-not that they understand Syndicalism any more than its leading votaries, but believing it to be anti-political, they seek shelter beneath its slogans and formulas.

Our statement of the cause of Syndicalism is supported by the Syndicalist author of the book under review, who states (p. 187) that :-

"There are practically only one or two Syndicalists in England, but discontent with the degree of success obtained through the Parliamentary Labour Party has led to a general return to trade unionism and strikes as a means of fighting the employers. . . . The belief that at least one member of the party bargains with the Liberal Government with a view to his personal advantage; the moderation of its words n Parliament compared with its words on the on the platform; the incapacity of many members of it, who are only dolls in the hands of Rameay Macdonald: the acceptance by certain of its members of paid posts given by the Liberals; and its love of Puritanism, have all helped to cause a feeling of disappointment and disillusionment in many who once trusted and believed in it.'

That, then, is the cause of the spread of Syn-

dicalism. It is clearly shown by this that Syndicalism thrives on ignorance. Only miseducated, non Socialist workers would ever trust the Labour Party, would ever expect them to look after the toilers' interests; and when the failure of their political inaction is realised, it is not the political method itself that has been found wanting, but it is the lack of sound knowledge on the workers' part that is demonstrated. Because the political machine has been used in a capitalist direction the Syndicalist and his dupes proclaim the failure of politics!

The present book consists chiefly of quotations from the works of the Syndicalist leaders of to-day throughout Europe, and the author ventures his opinions very little. When he does so, he shows not only that he does not understand Syndicalism, but that he understands Socialism still less. In the preface he declares Socialism to mean that "huge State monopolies are to be formed in all industries, and that these will be controlled by a few very powerful officials at Westminster.

This is typical of the misrepresentation that the Syndicalists feed their followers on. If Mr. Lewis would consult what he calls an 'orthodox" Socialist, say Frederick Engels, he would find that Socialism rises upon the ashes of the State, for when Socialism comes the day of the State has closed for ever.

Though the title of the work is "Syndicalism and the General Strike," only one chapter is devoted wholly to the latter question. chief part deals with the theory of Syndicalism and Syndicalists.

Our author tells us that "the Syndicalist likes poor unions best—riches bring caution: he likes low weekly dues and small benefits." Rather we should say, the average Syndicalist likes no dues and many benefits. We are promised much melodrama and but little organisation and education by his statement that : "The great weapon of the workers against their masters is disorder." And one phase is described as "sabôtage or the destruction of property, intimidation of masters, sitting in factories with folded arms so that no blacklegs can take your places, leaving work at an hour earlier than the masters want. telling the truth to customers: all these are means by which the masters can be made to

What they are to be made to yield by these means we are not told. But anyone can realise that while these things may prove aggravating to the isolated employer, and make him more bitter against the music-hall revolutionists, yet if this kind of thing was general, all the employers being on the same footing, they would feel its effects very little.

would need the power, not merely to personate George Washington, but to take control of the

entire means of life; not to leave at an earlier hour than the masters desire, but to leave masters altogether. The crude notions of these folk are brought forward in the idea of "sitting with folded arms" while the masters want food clothing, etc. for their daily needs. Sabotage, like all Syndicalist methods, is born of the want of sound knowledge and strong organisation.

Despite the fact that the author declares that the General Confederation of Labour in France "contains both a reformist and a revolutionary section," and that the latter is "the minority of a minority of a minority - only some of the members of the C.G.T. being revolutionists and the C.G.T. itself only representing a minority of the unions"—despite that, however, the Anarchists miscalled revolutionists have a governing influence in the organisation, and have made its actions both comedies and tragedies.

They don't believe in democracy. As the leading French Syndicalist, Emile Pouget, says in the work quoted-"The Syndicalist," Syndicalism and democracy are the two oppo site poles which exclude and neutralise each other . . . This is because democracy is a social superfluity, a parasitic and external excrescence, while Syndicalism is a logical manifestation of the growth of life," etc. Another French leader, M. Pierrot, is quoted as saying in Syndicalism and Revolution ": "It is better to have an active group who know how to carry the masses and turn them in the right direction by their words and actions." "The Syndicalist." says our author "has contempt for the vulgar idea of democracy the inert, unconscious mass is not to be taken into account when the minority wishes to act so as to benefit it."

That is the key note. The "intellectual" few are to dominate the many. Not democracy but autocracy and dictatorship. The day of a revolution carried out on these lines would also be the day of counter-revolution, the day of disaster. of drilled, unthinking masses being driven to the New Jerusalem. The day of revolution would but be the prelude to the long, black night of apathy and despair.

The Socialist Party, however, clings fast to democracy in organisation and in action. It knows that the real, reliable movement can only be built up with an alert, awakened, interested working class. That alone can bring about emancipation - not a few leaders hypnotising an ignorant rank and file.

Syndicalism means but a change of leaders. As Gaylord Wilshire's (the wealthy Syndicalist) magazine declares (November 1912) movement calls also for new leaders." And again: "The new conditions must bring forth a new type of leader, powerfur, inspiring, and heroic. But to keep this conduct up the workers | Leadership, not a live membership doing their own work in their own way, that is the ideal. Mr. Lewis points out that unions with small

funds are wanted, for, says he, "where funds are large the workers are made to vote for or against a strike," thus showing that the Syndicalist objects to the will of the worker being expressed and sted upon

"Syndicalism has an immediate programme. It would have the unions look to it that there are meeting places for working men, where there will be lectures, baths, and all that helps them to learn how to take control of production and consumption; also the officials, with professional help, should get for the workers their legal rights and place medical and legal advice at their diagonal."

So anxious are they about reforms that they even worry about legal rights. Fancy hungering after the rights conferred by lawyers and by Parliament! But it is not surprising, for above all else the Syndicalists are reformers. Without economic knowledge or political insight what else could they be? The English Syndicalist, Mr. Tom Mann, declares ("A Twofold Warning.") that poverty can be abolished under capitalism, and he also says: "I contend that reducing the working hours provides a solution for the problem of unemployment, and it matters not what system obtains." With this rot they make converts among the ignorant, yet any tyro in economics could prove to them that the reserve army of labour is the corner-stone of capitalism, and that the shortening of hours doesn't mean the lessening of the product of the same number of men. The Chief Inspector of Mines just reports that in spite of the Eight Hours Day Bill, and the strikes last year, over seven million tons more coal was produced than in 1910, and on the average every miner's output increased three tons. This is typical of the whole industrial world.

Syndicalists'claim great things for their strikes and sabotage Something now! "The use of trade union labels is regarded as an instance of direct action." The free advertisement of particular employers! Further we are told that by sabotage "bread has been made inedible but not injurious"—a kind of general "hunger strike' forced upon the working class.

But the sad story of Spanish, French and Italian strikes and sabotage has somewhat dimmed the picture. Yvetot, the chief of the C.G.T., in his "A.B.C. of Syndicalism," confesses that "the principle obstacle to a revolution is the army. When the Government does not use the army to replace strikers, it makes soldiers into massacrers of workmen." What, then is the use of the General Strike? What can it do against the army? As Yvetot says, the army massacres the strikers. In Italy, we are told (p. 104): "A general strike of railway workers was attempted in 1905 as a protest against a new attempt to introduce the (strike smashing) law; it failed and the law was passed. Men were shot down by the soldiers in 1907 and there was a renewal of a wide-spread strike. The strikers were defeated, and it was said that 20,000 men, or one third of all the men employed on the railway, were punished, either by imprisonment, discharge from the service, fines, or degradation

Arturo Labriolo, the leading Italian Syndicalist, shows the similarity between Syndicalism and capitalism. He says: "You can imagine that a Syndicat for a certain trade could contain all the workers in a single branch of industry, could contract on uniform conditions with all the capitalists on behalf of these workers, and would form a kind of common treasury of all the profits, to be distributed according to a rule of exalted justice to all its members.

This process could go further. It can be imagined.

This process could go further. It can be imagined that at a certain point of its development the workers' union might hire the capital of the capitalists for a fixed return and then use it co-operatively, either working in one mass or constructing so many separate co-operative bodies each having separate and distinct accounts."

And he goes on: "Syndicates, as organisms opposed to monopoly, and therefore open to all, would enthusiastically receive the capitalists of yesterday become the companions of to day, and would make use of their indisputable directive and administrative ability."

Before leaving the General Strike theory it is useful to note the words of Mr. Ben Tillett, quoted in the book. Speaking after the 1911 Transport strike was over he said (Glasgow,

11.2.12): "A week before the strike a Cabinet Minister pleaded with me in a tearful voice to stop the strike. Of course, this pleading was unheaded until the men got what they wanted."

unheeded until the men got what they wanted."
Yet within six months of that speech the transport workers were fighting for the very demands they had "won" the year before! And what a cruel comment was the suffering of that historic defeat on the "efficacy of the strike" idea!

The general strike of miners and other strikes in England bring home the lessons of the Socialist. Whilst the strike, local or industrial, may effect improvement for the time, slavery remains. Whilst the threat of a general strike may induce concessions, it cannot bring a solution. The best results of economic unity can only be effected by class conscious toilers who recognise the need for class action, class union for working class ends; who realise that, as the road to emancipation lies in control of political power, political action is a vital necessity.

The cure for Syndicalism is education in the Socialist principles and policy. There is no substitute for a Socialist working class seeking its salvation through the political struggle. When the toilers understand Socialism they will have no room in their minds for the sophisms and fallacies of Syndicalism.

A. Kohn.

TOOTING ELECTIONS.

In the recent Borough Council Elections the Tooting Branch ran three candidates for Tooting Ward. The result was gratifying, the figures showing an increase of 80 per cent. over those for our last effort, in 1909.

The branch intended concluding the campaign with a demonstration at one of the L.C.C. schools, and had made all arrangements for same, but although we had paid for the use of the school, we were precluded from holding our meeting by being informed at the last moment that the room would be required for polling purposes.

The other candidates included three "independents," whose independence consisted of claiming to be the People's candidates. They will, no doubt, now they are elected, demonstrate how they represent the people by supporting any and every measure brought forward in the interest of capitalism and to the detriment of the working class.

Another candidate was a Municipal Reformer, and the decrease in the number of votes polled for him was doubtless largely due to the active Anti Socialist Union propaganda carried on in this district

The other candidates were Labourites, whose programme consisted of reforms none of which, had they been elected, could they have carried into effect. Reforms will be passed by the capitalist class when they think fit, and not at the dictation of "Labour" candidates. Minorities do not usually rule the roost.

Besides, they had the assistance of that notorious misleader, Ben Tillett (who, by the way, does not believe in political action), and possibly that accounted for the decrease in the "Labour"

It added to the gaiety of things to find that the Tooting Branch of that party of "unity," the B.S.P., supported the "Labour" candidates, while the Battersea Branch of the same organisation were actually in opposition to the "Labour" candidates there.

All the foregoing should act as a tonic and give renewed energy to carry on the propaganda for Socialism. We feel confident that the truth will ultimately prevail.

W. T.

ILFORD BRANCHS.P.G.B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

. Will be continued throughout the year .

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

OPPOSITE

ILFORD STATION.

ALSO ON

THURSDAY EVENINGS
AT SAME SPOT.

A "CAPITAL" REWARD FOR HEROISM.

December, 1912.

"'NEARER My God to Thee.' With the strains of this beautiful hymn ringing in their ears the brave bandsmen of the 'Titanic' went to their death, displaying once more that noble self-s rifice and courage which is so characteristic i our 'men who go down to the sea in ships.'"

Such was the gist of the slobbering sent ment that was spewed up in the columns of the capitalist Press after the great disaster. But let us see how far the glowing appreciation by the master class of the self-sacrifice of these brave working has materialised

At the Liverpool County Court recently a claim was made on behalf of the wives and children of the "Titanic" bandsmen. The magistrate who heard the case gave judgment in these words: "Although I have felt compelled to hold that the Workmen's Compensation Act does not apply to the bandsmen, yet I cannot forget that these brave men met their death while performing an act which was of the greatest service in

helping to maintain discipline and avert panic."

This is a good illustration of how the alleged mutuality of interest between the capitalist class and the working class always expresses itself. The widows and orphans may find consolation in the fact that salubrious occupations such as sewing hooks and eyes on cards brings remuneration at the rate of nearly a penny per hour. Such is the reward for the workers' heroism.

But surely, on the other hand, such displays of animal cunning shown by the master class, should prove a lesson to the workers. Just as, on the "Titanic," the workers were "kidded" to fix their eyes on heaven and play beautiful hymn tunes while the Rich were busy slipping their oily carcasses over the side of the ship to safety, so the game is played in mill, mine and factory. To shut your eyes and open your mouth to see what God will send you is a pastime worthy of children and lunatics, but reflects no credit on sane adults.

The workers as a class must organise politically for the common ownership of the means of living, for until this has become an accomplished fact they will surely pay toll for their sufferance of a callous and brutal master class.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8.

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

BATTERSEA BRANCH are holding a course of economic lessons on Wednesday evenings at 8, at 184, High Street, Battersea. Non-members invited. No charge.

TOTTENHAM BRANCH are holding discussion classes every Wednesday evening at 8.30 in Branch Rooms at 224, High Road, Tottenham. Strangers welcome.

TOOTING BRANCH are holding an Education Class on Saturday evenings at 8 o'clock, at 15, Gassiott Road, Tooting, commencing on November 30. Comrades from other branches invited.

NEW S.P.G.B. PUBLICATION.

We have to announce that we have in the Press for publication in the course of a few days, a report of the debate which took place at Tooting on May 21st between our comrade, J. Fitzgerald and Mr. Samuel Samuels, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth, on the subject of "Socialism v. Tariff Reform." The pamphlet consist of 48 pages, and the price is—for democracy sake, 1d.

JOTTINGS.

The Dean of Lincoln (Dr. Fry), speaking at Kennington recently, gave utterance to the following characteristic remark: "I wake in the morning with a joy I have not known for years to think that we may, in a few weeks, have the Cross over St. Sophia and Constantinople." Which means, to give it its true interpretation, that if there are any pickings to be had, they mean, vulture like, to be among the first at the feast, brazenly disregarding the fact that the history of Christianity is bloodier even than that of the Turks.

It is interesting to note with what alacrity the wealthy class have protested against the flogging clause in the White Slave Traffic Bill. One would suppose that they were actuated by motives of honest indignation against a survival of Middle Age methods of torture. To the Socialist, however, the reason is quite clear. For is not this the class from which the "White Slavers" draw most of their clientele? And are they not responsible in a double sense, inasmuch as it is due to the exploitation of labour by this class that the degradation of women exists, thus making "white slavery" possible.

According to news from Paris, a lady has been seen in the Champs Elysées, accompanied by her dog, which was wearing india-rubber boots laced high up the legs, ear protectors, goggles to shield the eyes from cold and mud, and a Raglan overcoat lined with thick flannel, and provided with a pocket from which projected a tiny handkerchief with a monogram on it, with which to wipe its dear little nose.

In order to more fully appreciate the above I cite another instance of riotous extravagance taken from the same paper ("The London Budget," 27.10.12).

"An old soldier with the best of characters complained to the Westminster magistrate that everything he possessed, except a small bundle, had been taken from him for a balance of 5s. under a hire purchase agreement and 3s. 6d. for a week's rent, which he was unable to pay through being out of work. He showed receipts covering a period of two years for instalments amounting to £12 11s. paid for goods priced under the agreement at £12 16s." After this who wouldn't prefer a dog's life?

A circular has been going the rounds of late, issued by that confused set of scaremongers known as the Anti-Socialist Union. It is a wild appeal for "help and support," promising that "neither the names of members nor subscriptions are published without permission." In the course of the appeal (which is anonymous, as usual) it states that "predatory Socialism" is rampant in the House of Commons. According to the "antis" there were 40 Socialists in Parliament in 1911, and since 1897 the National Debt had risen from £545,171,525 to £733,072,610, ostensibly due to their advent in the House.

This is certainly news to me, yet I would be satisfied if the A.S.U. would furnish the name of one Socialist in Parliament, now or any other time. This sort of stuff may do to frighten the commercial and business class to whom these leeches make their appeal, but to the Socialist it is laughable.

Here is another sample: "One of the first principles of Socialism is the repudiation of the National Debt. That is why Socialists show no concern at the rapid piling up of the nation's liabilities." This is both right and wrong. It is wrong in so far that Socialists do not repudiate the National Debt, for the simple reason that it makes no difference to the workers of this country whether the nation has a big National Debt or none at all. The workers' condition remains the same. They don't make the debt, and they don't pay the debt. Therefore the Socialist doesn't concern himself with the National Debt, even to the extent of repudiating it. It is right in that the Socialists have no

concern with the nation's liabilities. The liabilities are not theirs, be they piled as high as that beautiful place they tell us about. On the other hand, having regard to the fact that Socialism will not be established except as a world-wide system, all national debts, liabilities, Anti-Socialist Unions, and other capitalist institutions will automatically become defunct. Meanwhile, spread the light!

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Keir Hardie, "the famous British Socialist" (according to the Americans), has recently returned from a lecturing tour in that land "flowing with milk and honey." Asked by an interviewer how he became a Socialist, Hardie (it is reported) answered: "I can't just say how my own life turned me to Socialism. I think I got my first ideas from reading Robert Burns and Thomas Carlyle. Then came the New Testament." Good heavens! I have several times wondered where he got it from!

It seems that Hardie's services had been requisitioned to give a fillip to the S.P. of America (an organisation similar to the I.L.P.), since Roosevelt had stolen all their platform, and left with them no distinguishing principles upon which to fight. It had been suggested to the party that Hyndman be asked to perform, but the offer was declined on the score of expense. Instead, Hardie was booked at £10 a lecture!—at least, so grumbles "Justice." It would be very interesting to know what Hyndman's figure would have been, seeing ithat Hardie was considered to be a cheap substitute at £10 a time.

Considering he addressed 43 meetings it cannot be said that he did badly, and yet it certainly was indiscreet of him to tell the interviewer that "the commonsense of humanity is bound to manifest itself sometime."

Whilst agreeing that this is probable, yet, it seems to me, if its manifestation depends upon the dissemination of Carlyle and the New Testament at £10 a dose, then it is a very long way off indeed. Happily, however, there are teachers of Socialism in the field.

The Executive of the Labour Party has been wroth with Mr. H. G. Hancock, M.P., because he announced his intention of attending the meetings of the Mid Derby Liberal Association and reporting to them his work in Parliament. The Executive does not see how he can square this attitude with his pledge to support the Labour Party's constitution.

To me there appears to be no difficulty whatever. Events have proved that the Liberal party stands for all that the Labour Party stands for. Besides, was not Mr. Hancock congratulated years ago by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George on his former successful campaigns in Mid-Derby? Why was he not pulled up before? Simply because the Labour Party has known all along that Mr. Hancock was a Liberal He has never disguised the fact. Again, did not Mr. Ramsay Macdonald himself say that Socialism was to be approached, "not by a broad, readymade road, but through morass, through forests, up hill and down dale, round this corner and that"? (Oxford, 13.10.11.)

Numerous instances could be cited where Labour M.P.'s have admitted their identity with the Liberal Party. So why blame a member if he elects to go "round this corner and that"?

If those who support a Labour policy are desirous of doing a little house-cleaning, they have set themselves a huge task, for upon observation we find the same treachery throughout the movement. On the occasion of the conference of the freedom of the City of Liverpool upon Lord Derby, we find Mr. "Jim" Sexton present on the platform in spite of the resolution passed by his Trades Council, forbidding members to take part in the ceremony. Not satisfied with this, he needs must inform his audience that he "regarded it as a very considerable privilege to be there." I can quite believe it, and hope Lord Derby will duly appreciate his ser-"A small section of the community said Sexton, "have expressed their disapproval, and whilst I do not doubt their sincerity, I cannot appreciate their motives."

After this is there any doubt as to which class Mr. Sexton is serving? Of course, nothing will

happen. The only difference is that of this occasion a Tory was supported, whereas it is usually the right thing to support a Liberal.

As Mr. W. C. Anderson, the Chairman of the I.L.P., says in the Liberal "Daily Citizen" (13.10.12): "Some would argue that the Labour Party nust prove its independence of the Liberals by voting against the Government, even when the Government are supporting some useful (!) reform. But that is not independence: it is much nearer being an advanced stage of political lunacy. On a number of political questions—Lords' Veto, Plural Votes, and Home Rule—the Liberals are certainly more advanced than the Tories. On all such questions Labour will go into the same lobby with the Liberals without the slightest sacrifice of independence."

Which is quite true. It would be difficult indeed for them to sacrifice something which, for them, does not exist.

At Manchester last month, during the municipal elections, both Labour and B.S.P. candidates signified their willingness, if elected, "to work for the unification of Rates" and "the transference of Rates from property to site values," for which they were promised the support "by word, deed and vote" of the League of Young Liberals. These are issues, be it noted, that are of no import to the workers, but are intended solely to benefit one section of the capitalist class by shifting the rates burden onto the shoulders of another section, incidentally using the worker as a mug in order to accomplish it.

According to Lady Aberconway, there are "only two ways for a woman of the upper classes to obtain money; one by inheriting from the dead, and the other by legging from the living." I venture to affirm that this is not quite correct. There are three ways of getting a living: by working for it, by begging, and by stealing. Knowing that the "upper" class neither work nor beg for their living, there is no other conclusion left us than that they get it by stealing—from the workers.

Robert Blatchford has recanted on the question of compulsory military service, of which he was such a strenuous advocate. He admits that universal military service under the control of the ruling 'classes' would result in slavery : it would undoubtedly lead to the enslavement of the workers." ("Clarion," 1.11.12.) Which is an admission on the part of R.B. that his position, after all his protestations to the contrary, was the wrong one. It has taken him a long time to find it out, which, in itself betrays the fact that he has not devoted much time to the study of Socialism. Seeningly it requires concrete instances, such as the employment of troops as blacklegs in the recent strikes, to force home to him the absurdity of his position. The point is, what becomes now of his "Britain for the British," seeing that one position conditions

TON SALA.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The Party's Head Office is now at 193, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W. C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.F. (Peckham),

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM, JUNE 1st., 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

Post Free 1.d.

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OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the las Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS. UNITED KINGDOM.

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The Socialist Standand





THE LANSBURY LESSON.

Exit Lansbury!

The Revolutionary Movement has not a great deal to thank Mr. George Lansbury for For years he has more or less successfully exploited its name, waxing fat on the very outrage; but at last he has tumbled, and in his fall has afforded those misguided workers who believed in his "Socialism," a lesson which, if they do but take it to heart, will serve them better than its author ever wittingly served anybody but himself. The Revolutionary Movement has to thank him for that!

We have always claimed that neither Mr. Lansbury nor any other member of the Labour Party is a Socialist. We have always held, and still hold, that there is not at the present time, and never has been, a Socialist in the British Parliament. Our position always has been that Socialism essentially includes democracy—the genuine thing, not the pitiful caricature some confusionist lips and pens love to portray. We have always held, as one of the primary tenets of our political faith, that a knowledge of the principles of Socialism, even together with an avowal of acceptance thereof, is not of itself sufficient to make a person a Socialist. Something more, we have maintained, is required.

This something more is goodwill. The Socialist must not only be one who understands Socialism and believes in it : he must be one who wants Socialism, and whose political activities, be they great or small, be they enacted in the full blaze of the Speaker's eye or in the humble obscurity of the street corner rostrum, are consistent with the understanding of what Socialism is, and with the desire for its speedy

We claim to-day that the political actions of Mr. Lansbury have never been consistent with both a comprehensive grasp of Socialist principles and a desire to see those principles triumphant. Whether they were inconsistent on the first or the second point it is not for us to say. It is not our duty to analyse every loud-mouthed claimant of the revolutionary title, and to assign him to his place, on this hand among the fool or on that hand among the rogues. Our part is to show his non-Socialist character, and to oppose him on that sure and unquestionable ground. This we did in the case of Mr. Lansbury in his recent contest, when the Executive Committee of our Party passed the following resolution and instructed the General Secretary to send it to the Press :--

"That as Mr. G. Lansbury is not a Socialist, and is therefore not stan-Bromley in the interest of the working class, the working-class electors in that division are advised to abstain from voting."

This very clear and definite statement was

published by a large number of newspapers, in some cases with comments in kind. We do not flatter ourselves that our action affected the result, nor were we greatly concerned with that, but we challenged Mr. Lansbury's statement that he is a Socialist, and contradicted it in the most emphatic manner and in the most effective wav in which we were able.

Naturally our action created a bit of a stir. and a certain section of the Press, who for some time past have made it a practice to refer even to the orthodox Liberal policy as Socialistic, affected to find our pronouncement false. Thus the

"Whatever the Socialist Party of Great Britain says, Mr. Lansbury stands for Socialism, and that is a fact which all electors in Bow and Bromley who are opposed to that policy should

while the "Morning Post" (23.11.12) remarked

"Till the Socialist Party of Great Britain amplifies its statement with proofs, most people who know Mr. Lansbury and have heard him speak will continue to suspect him at least of Socialist leanings."

Well, the proofs are at hand. In his Election Address for the recent contest Mr. Lansbury makes no mention whatever of Socialism. In stead, he declares definitely that "the policy which I urge you to support is the only policy in these days worth fighting for."

Is that policy Socialism? It is not—it is, in Mr. Lansbury's own words, "to put this question of Votes for Women in the very foremost rank of social reform." Is that policy part of the working class struggle for emancipation? Mr. Lansbury himself supplies the answer when he says (Election Address) "four hundred men now in the House of Commons . . pledged themselves at the last election to vote for the enfranchisement of women.

So, this policy, to which four hundred Liberals and Tories in the House of Commons are pledged, is "the only policy in these days worth fighting for "! Socialism, then, according to this man who (except in his Election Aduress) claims to be a Socialist, is not worth fighting for! The terse pronouncement is sufficient.

As we have said, the Socialist must want So cialism-and the man who says it is not worth fighting for cannot want it very badly. As we have said, the political activities of the Socialist must never belie his principles, but must always fit in with the strugg.e for its speedy triumph -the man who says that Socialism is not worth fighting for not only belies one of the first prin ciples of Socialism (VIZ., that it is the only means for the emancipation of the working class), but he deliberately discourages the prosecution of the struggle for its achievement.

On this ground alone, we contend, our reso lution affirming that Mr. G. Lansbury is not a Socialist is amply justified, and is quite devoid of that "element of comedy" which that beery journal the "Morning Advertiser," professes to

see attaching to it.

We have said that Socialism includes democracy. It includes, therefore, the supremacy of the people over their representatives. Mr. Lansbury, however, says this concerning political

"Many will come to you and talk of party and party principles, but believe me, we have been caucus ridden and party driven too long. . . To vote according to one's conscience

is often to be untrue to party, and I want you to send me back to the House of Commons to fight, irrespective of the convenience either of Government or party."

Now a political party is a group of people organised to achieve a certain object or objects. The duty of its representatives is simply to act as its agents. If they are sent to Parliament it is not "to vote according to one's conscience,' but according to the "conscience," or the wi and instruction of those who sent them there. A man is not representing the views of those who elect him on the guarantee of a party, and on the strength of its programme and principles by voting according to his "conscience," if that involves being "untrue to party." Twinges of "conscience" should occur before accepting office. If they manifest themselves later they indicate simply that the sufferer is sensible of

being in a false position—and the honest course is to get out of it.

December, 1912.

Mr. Lansbury, however, did not get out of it. He was elected under the auspices of the Labour Party, and with the assistance of the Liberals. He was therefore elected to support the Liberal-Labour policy. Then he begins to set up his Was he representing the views of his constituents when he opposed the Insurance Act? Was he representing the views of his constituents when he shook his fist in Asquith's face because forcible feeding was being applied to women of the class who forcibly starve ours? On the other hand, the man who aspires to be the champion of Votes for Women, with consummate impudence and conceit, disfranchised his own constituents by setting up his conscience " against theirs, and opposing the policy they had sent him there to support.

The question of the merits of that policy is not raised in the slightest degree. Mr. Lansbury was elected upon it, and chose to flout it, until a group of "middle class" women got hold of him for their purposes. Then he has the impudence to come forward, not to ask his constituents if he may oppose the policy they sent him to support, but to tell them he has done it. He comes forward, asking those whom he has flouted and misrepresented for two years without scruple, to stake their every political asset on the vagaries of his "conscience.

And as if to touch the very limits of cynical impudence, he himself reveals the true value of that "conscience" by lamenting that: "In regard to the Osborne Judgment, we have also failed to secure . . the complete reversal of this piece of judge made law "—a reversal which, Mr. Lansbury forgets to say, would simply restore to the "labour leaders" the opportunity of plundering trade unionists for the support of a party and a policy which even he, Mr. Lansbury, finds it against his "conscience" to adhere to! So much for Lansbury's democracy. So much also, we may perhaps say, for his reputed "transparent honesty." It certainly has not proved very opaque to us.

The lesson for the working class is clear. Mr. Lansbury is a man with a following. Like all such, he is not particularly concerned with his followers understanding their position. He knows that he can only exploit their ignorance. Hence, instead of declaring for a definite set of principles, leading to a clear and worthy object, he mouths meaningless phrases about "fighting for the weak," and makes all manner of vague and contradictory promises. In this way, and trading on a certain seeming bland and open address, and a Christ-like compound of magnanimous and forgiving injured innocence, he manages to gather about him a considerable portion of those who are looking for someone to repose their simple faith in.

Being thus equipped with an extensive following, Mr. Lansbury is qualified to become a political "tool," so the Liberals take him up, through the Labour Party, of course. But Mr. Lansbury is not content to remain a call bird in the Liberal trap cage. He sees an opportunity of advancement in "Votes for Women." He says: "The fight for woman's enfranchisement is the biggest fight socially that is going on in To be the biggest figure in the biggest fight is better than being an uncounted hair in the Liberal dog's tail.

So Mr. Lansbury throws over the Liberals and adventures into that land flowing with milk and money, the Suffragist camp. He is received with open arms. He is just what is wanted—a man with an unquestioning following. He can provide them with a good run for their money, and there is plenty of that. True, there is his £400 a year to be considered, if he loses; but that is a small matter where £10,000 is obtained

at a single meeting.
So Lansbury, who claims to be a Socialist, becomes a Suffragist candidate, declares that nothing else is "worth fighting for," and sheds a lurid light on the whole business by making a grievance of the fact that (we quote his Election Address) "on the Conciliation Bill, which would have given votes to only a few women Liber Irish Members who were avowed supporters of the Women's cause lither went into the Lobby against the Bill or abstained from voting." Who were those few women who would have been enfranchised under the Conciliation Bill-rich

women or poor? The answer to this question will show whose agent Mr. Lansbury is.

Those workers who, sympathising with Social ism without understanding it, thought they were sending a Socialist to Parliament when two years ago, they voted for Mr. Lansbury, have now something to think about. Well for them if they realise that they can never elect a Socialist by voting for a popular personality with a follow ing, but only by voting for the clear, definite Socialist principles through a candidate put for ward, guaranteed, and controlled by a political party based upon those principles.

There is but one such political party in this country; there is but one party so grounded in democracy that its candidates and representaties but the mouthieces and representatives of vital Socialist principles. That party is the Socialist

Those principles appear on the last page of every issue of this journal. Study them!

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DE-CLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

OF THE S.P.G.B.

It now remains but to consider the general conclusions which logic demands shall be drawn from the seven aphorisms which have occupied our attention. For this purpose a brief recapitulation at this juncture will be useful, if not

The implications of our first aphorism are that (1) The present social base is private, sectional owership of the means of living.

(2) This property condition divides society into two classes – possessors and non possessors.

(3) The class of non possessors must exist under a set of social conditions which, involving at the outset the sale of their labour power in the competitive market, makes them the sole producers of the wealth of society, without giving them any share in the control of that This condition is expressed by the phrase "the enslavement of the working class."

Our second aphorism follows as the logical deduction from the first. It asserts that as society is divided into two classes, one of which lives upon the labour of the other, there is an antagonism of interests between the two classes and that this antagonism of interests induces a class struggle.

The implication of the third is that the anta gonism of interests, and therefore the class struggle, can only be abolished by the abolition of the cause out of which they arise—the condition which the first aphorism states is the base ship by a class of the means of living, and the substitution therefor of common ownership of

The next aphorism pronounces that the workers, in emancipating themselves, will emancipate the whole of humanity, "without distinction of race or sex." and it is next declared that only the working class itself can be the instrument of this emancipation.

The sixth aphorism states that the machinery of government, including the armed forces, is merely the instrument for maintaining the present social basis, and the oppression of the workers which necessarily proceeds from this basis, and it deduces therefrom the conclusion that the workers must organise, consciously and politically, first, for the capture of this machinery of government, and secondly, having done this, to use it as the agent of their own emancipation.

The implication of the last aphorism is that, as there are only two classes, and therefore only two class interests, which are diametrically opposed, the political party of the workers must be opposed to all other political parties.

That is a brief summary of the implications of the seven aphorisms which have been set out

Now what position do logic and commonsense impose upon those who believe these implications to be fundamental truths?

First of all they must elevate them into the position of principles, of guides for their every tep and activity in the direction of the economic

betterment of their class. Commontes of the

will then be noonday clear.

If it is true that the basis of present society is the class ownership of the land, factories, and other means of living, then every feature characteristic of, and peculiar to, the working class as such -the weary toil, the insecurity of livelihood. the grinding poverty, the enforced idleness, the cruel cheating of childhood's pleasures, the hope less outlook of old age, the thou sand and one bruta and humiliating and painful details that make up the miserable total of the workers' cankered existence—can be referred to that class ownership of property.

The very central point of the workers, attack, then, beyond all dispute, is this social basis, the class ownership of the means of life. The possessors must be dispossessed.

If it is true that the machinery of Government, including the armed forces, exists only to pre serve that social base, then, clearly, the barrier of the machinery of government must be sur mounted before the social base can be interfered with. The method, therefore, must be political while and where that method is possible. The political power must be captured through the ballot, in order that the control of the machinery of government, including the armed forces, shall pass into the hands of the working class.

We must enter the field of political action, in order to capture political power, with the object of using it as the means of dispossessing

the propertied class.

If it is true that all political parties are but the expression of class interests, then political parties must be exactly as antagonistic and irreconcilable as the interests they express. logic of this is inexorable. And if it is true that there are but two classes in society, and that their interests are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable, then the political party of the working class must be at all times and in all places, utterly opposed to every other political

Hence the policy of the party seeking working-class emancipation must, under conditions identical with those obtaining in this country, be identical with that expressed in the final clause of the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which declares

"The Socialist party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist.

This is the only policy for a party holding the principles set forth and explained in these articles, the only policy of a party (under the given conditions) seeking working-class emancipation, the only policy for a party aspiring to establish "a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, by and in the interest of the whole community,' the only policy of a Socialist

Let every man and woman of the working class, therefore, who is interested in the welfare of that class, who is weary and sick of heart with the miserable tragedy of the working-class position, take up the premises of the Socialist principles and examine them. Let him (or her take them up as a challenge to his intellect, and either convince himself of their truth or prove their falsity. Let him then bring his actions into line with his convictions, rejecting the Socialist principles if he finds them unsound, but adopting them and cleaving to them if he finds them true and unassailable.

True these principles and the policy they dictate offer nothing but battle-and victory, nothing but the last arduous campaign of the class struggle-and the fruits thereof. But it is sufficient. It must not be exchanged for the power and pelf of office and a place near the lesh-pots of Egypt for a few who dub themselves Labour leaders.

We who know the class to which we belong, and build up all our hopes on our faith in the capacity of its intellect, know that it will not be so exchanged. We know that the working class, as a class, is capable of judging all things for of its own avowed principles, without leaders or use for leaders, to its emancipation.

A. E. JACOMB.

THE END.

FROM THE FRONT.

Тин Archbishop of Canterbury, in dealing with the "labour unrest," at the Church Congress, suggested that, in order to achieve industrial peace, the employers should get in personal touch with their men, see the conditions of their work and of their home lives with their own eves. Also that the workmen should try and understand the conditions under which business in these days of international competition has to be carried on. But why not an actual change of places? The worker would then understand the real function of the capitalist-luxurious loafing -while the capitalist would be able to enjoy the benefits that are said to be insepare from "honest toil." Both suggestions are equally practical—and nonsensical.

Referring to the attitude of the Church towards "labour unrest," his Grace said: There is above all the disputes and passions of men, a will of 'God'—that conscience knows it. and that obedience to it is, and keeps all things, right.'

Conscience knows it-God's instructions are so unmistakable-yet the Archbishop says the Church "has no commission from its master to take sides, or to invest any particular scheme or policy with his authority." And this in spite of the fact that, in his own words, "capital is responsible for the condition of the labour it employs -in railways and factories at home, or in rubber plantations abroad," and that "even now multitudes of children are born into an environment where the only chances are downward." And the Church still claims to be on the side of the oppressed.

How pitiful these high humbugs appear in their futile endeavours to reconcile their interested attitude with their creed!

Bernard Shaw has at last told why he "left off lecturing on Socialism." He says: "Ninetenths of the art of popular oratory lies in sympathising with the grievances of your hearers." When his audiences were no longer of the working class he changed his tune.

The lesson is clear. Shawism is for the shirkers, while Socialism is for the workers.

Bernard Shaw is not by any means the only one to adapt his principles and bend the truth to suit his audience. Prominent Labour men have said more than once that "those who pay the piper call the tune." As this is said in tones of reproach, because the workers do not pay, we can only infer that all "Labour" men are capitalist agents.

The \ elsh Messiah, too, subscribes to the Shavian cred. When advocating social reform -greater economy in administration-he tells his audien at that "seven per cent. of the people in the great ities live in a state of chronic destitution. Thirty per cent., or nearly one third, live on or below the poverty line." Or: "There is something wrong—where the labourer, working hard from morning till night in spring, summer, autumn and winter, in rain and sunshine, only to receive his eleven shillings a week in vast areas in England -in a country where you give thousands of pounds to men who do not labour

These are extracts from his speeches, called to mind by their publication in "Better Times." When the question is one of taxation, however, he claims that all sections profit equally by good government, and all should, therefore.

For downright contradiction the above is hard to beat; but the same gent goes one better than his previous best. His "good government," on another occasion, becomes a class government guilty of legislating in their own interests. He says: "There are about six million electors in itself, and of marching on, under the guidance this country at the present day, and yet the government is in the hands of one class. It does not matter up to the present which party is in power, you have practically the same class governing the country.

Women's Suffrage is the cry of the Pethicks and the Pankhursts, who want votes for propertied women. In their efforts to enlist the sympathy and support of working class women they tell them that their wages are lower than men's because they have no political power. With political power, they say, women would become a force to be reckoned with, and would be able to demand higher wages and better conditions.

This bait, however, will not do for the women in the hosiery trade. They are actually afraid of higher wages. According to the secretary of the Hosiery Union, Leicestershire, "women are paid a lower rate than men in every branch of the trade. We want them to demand the same as the men, but they insist on the difference and say: 'Oh, no, in that case we shall not be wanted.'"

Sir Alexander King, Secretary of the Post Office, has threatened to discharge women and employ men if the demand for the same wages is conceded. Women engaged in many occupations are in the same unhappy position. They dare not demand high wages, even when they do the same work as men, because they would be sacked and men would do the work. Men, however, demand higher wages and sometimes get them, only to find themselves, sooner or later, in the same position as the women, because machinery has been introduced.

Truly, almost every move of the workers on the industrial field is trumped by the masters.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has discovered in a New Zealand Government report, striking confirmation of his own views on Tariff Reform. According to this instructive report the cost of living has risen because of Tariff Reform, 16 per cent. On this statement he builds up a case against Protection—a case which collapses like a house of cards when one remembers that the rise in the prices of the necessaries of life in Free Trade England, over the same period, is according to Professor Ashley, 24 per cent. Pity the blind!

The quarrel between Liberals and Tories over Banbury's amendment, although not likely to make them forget their mutual interests and their opposition to the workers, nevertheless revealed the hooligan nature that is always one of the characteristics of those who live by plunder. As far as it went it should teach the workers that the so-called respectable and cultured class can be as vicious and vulgar as Parisian bandits. It is on record that Mr. Will Crooks did much to ease the situation by a timely rendering of 'Auld Lang Syne," while Mr. Barnes told an interviewer that the Labour Party would do their best to preserve the Parliamentary machine. Labour Members render yeomen service. They are especially good at dispute settling in the interest of the class that employs them at £400 per year—for Auld Lang Syne.

A censor of cinematograph films is the latest precaution taken by the representatives of the master class. Pictures that show the way "not to successfully burgle" are to be taboo, presumably because they excite the spirit of emulation in the minds of ambitious youngsters. By the manner in which such freaks are magnified, the worker is almost encouraged to believe that there is no such thing as unemployment and poverty leaving thousands only the choice between starvation, crime, or the workhouse.

But not only must property be protected—capitalist morals have to be safeguarded. The respect and veneration with which the workers have been taught to regard their rulers must be preserved. With that object in view pictures are to be excluded that represent royalty, aristocracy, judges or other State dignitaries in ludicrous or undignified positions. Yet with all their care, discentent becomes greater, and Socialism—the end of all things capitalistic—makes steady progress.

F. F.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

BOUNTY BABIES.

Smiling mothers everywhere, clasping their new arrivals as though they hadn't a care in the world. Thus the highly coloured posters picture the thirty bob benefit, the "endowment of motherhood," under the "People's Insurance Act"

In the black hells of mining villages, midst the smoky and dirt-ridden factory towns, and around the death-stricken courts and alleys of dockland—there faces you this poster. In foul St. Helens, in Dante's Dowlais, in unprintable Canning Town—there is this cynical caricature displayed.

Mark the pink and glowing faces of the wives of workingmen, the mothers of the working class. There is no deathly pallor there, no line of sorrow or privation, no mark of haunting worry and anxiety. No, all these are wiped out by the hand that was going to "banish poverty from every hearth" in three years.

Provided they have paid in sufficient to clear dministration charges, the doctor's "eight and six," the sanatorium's cost, the druggist's demands, the approved society's levy, etc., and if they have enough then left, the mother is to get thirty bob! But to win this she must do with out sickness benefit for two weeks before and four weeks after confinement. The medical benefit also is withdrawn when the "thirty pieces of silver" come. The doctor is not supplied. He must be paid out of the money. So must the midwife, and all the other expenses. It is open to the approved society to provide these and pocket your thirty pieces. If the mother seeks the portals of the lying-in hospital, they get her money. If the child is still born, then it is a case for the referees, lawyers, medicos, etc. These are the joys that await the woman who presents her "marriage lines" to the commissioners and her babe to a grateful

The Liberal frauds even boast that one million mothers of the working class are going to be made happy with this thirty bob every year. It is a significant comment upon the prevailing social system that in the richest country in the world one million mothers stand in need of a thirty-shilling dole to enable them to bring their babies into the world. Think who it is that require this assistance. It is the wives of the workers, not of the idlers; the toiling wives, not the won't-work women, who need it—and who have to pay for it.

I have sometimes wondered what the result would be if an official called with a "maternity" benefit upon a parasitic partner—say Mrs. John Jacob Astor, the "Titanic" heroine, who brought the three-million-pound baby into the world, or Mrs. Vanderbilt, who gave birth to a millionaire child at Wimbledon lately. The idler's wife would collapse with horror at the bare suggestion that she stood in need of such humiliating aid, and the footman would do things which hurt.

One million workers' babies need bounties! One million veteran and broken toilers need pensions for the December of their days. Thus confesses the Government. If the babes only knew! If they live through the strife and struggle of the dozen years of childhood, what lies beyond? They have to serve the sentence of close on sixty years hard labour—sixty years of servitude passed upon them by the owners, the robbers, of the world's wealth.

Not only hard labour at bench or machine, but hard labour in the weary, heart-breaking, never-ceasing round of visits to the slave exchange, the factories and workshops, begging a job.

There is the incentive. After sixty years of back breaking toil they will stand in dire need of a pensioner's dole. But the babies do not know, so they live on.

No, not all of them. Only some of the toilers' children escape the clutches of Death. The Registrar General in his report tells us that in the mining towns of Durham, in the Rhendoa Valley, in the cotton-weaving town of Eurnley, in the pettery town of Longton, and in many other places, 200 out of every 1,000 children been are done with life before they are one year old. What is being done to stop this murder? Precious little, even in the face of the steadily

falling birth rate. As Father Ring and others have shown, as lying in hospitals have reported, the children of the transport workers died off like flies at the time of the strike because their mothers were starved by the callous scoundrels who own and control the means of life.

In textile factories, in dressmakers' and tailors' workshops, in pottery bakehouses, in chainmaking sheds, in jute mills and matchmakers' mortuaries, there sweat the mothers of the toilers' race. In crêches, in nurseries, in open streets and blindalleys, and in locked rooms their loved ones must be left while they mint millions for the parasites and their pets. No wonder Lancashire doctors report that in time of strikes and lock outs the early days are marked by declining infant mortality and illness This is because the mothers are set free to look after their little ones. True, as in East London, when the dispute lasts long all this improvement is wiped out by the starvation that inevitably ensues.

The children of Carthage were sacrificed to Moloch, but the quick death of these was merciful, for all its seeming barbarity, by comparison with the lingering torture of the starved mites of the modern workers. The newspapers are full of sickening stories from the "homes" where the babies are brought to die. The present Tooting case, where five infants died within a week, is an example.

Again, the Southwark Coroner pointed out on November 12 that 600 children are burnt to death every year in England mainly the tragedy of flannelette! Flannel is not for the infants of the working class.

After infancy, school, for a meagre and begrudged apology for education, rushed through in the shortest possible space of time. The Board of Education tells us that of those fourteen years of age only 36 per cent. are at day school—the rest are at work!

The masters, however, want the children before they are fourteen. The Interdepartmental Committee on the Partial Exemption of School Children (1909) said (vide Report): "It was most strongly represented to us by millowners round Bradford and Halifax that any restriction on the supply is liable to cause inconvenience to employers." The half-time system meets the masters' demands in that it is cheap and the children are docile.

Ever since 1900 the number of half-timers has steadily risen. It rose from 74,000 in that year to 78,000 in 1903, 80,000 in 1904, 82,000 in 1906, 85,000 in 1908. At twelve years of age the boys and gurls are busy in the heated sheds and mills, grinding out profits for those who own. Although the Board of Education states that over 60 per cent. of the children attending school are defective in health, Mr. W. Sykes, of the Teachers' Union, stated that in 24 years' experience he had never known a child rejected as physically unfit, although some of them were not robust enough to be employed in the playground. (Before the Beard of Education, Nov. 4, 1907.)

What is the lot of the children working halftime at twelve years? The Committee referred to told the Government that "their progress is retarded, if not absolutely brought to a standstill. The children come to school tired and sleepy. . . They are unable to pay proper attention to their school work. The boy . . . loses a large part of his education . . . at a time when the value of education ought to

become greater to children."

They tell us that "the results of several statistical investigations made in more than one half-time town indicate distinctly that the weight and cheet measurement, and sometimes the height, of half-time children, are less than half those of full-time children in the same place and of the same age."

What shall you think, then, of the Labour Party members who try to keep the little cnes in the mills to be murdered? Mr. Shackleton, before he got his present job, supported with might and main the maintenance of the half-time system, and his fellow Labour members resented any attack upon this masters' man. Now Mr. W. A. Gill, a shining light of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, opposes the abolition of the half-time system. In the half-time delate on April 26, 1912, he said he "agreed with those who believed that in letting them (the children) go to school half the day and

be trained to work during the other half, they were doing what was best for their children."

One almost fancies one can hear the bosses telling him to say it.

December, 1912.

Bad as half-time is for children of twelve and thirteen, the labour leaders have done their best to force the children into the mills and fields full time at those ages. In short, they have helped the murderers of the children in their nefarious work, and, like Shackleton, they will get jobs.

In May, 1906, Sir John Brunner, the millionaire chemical-factory owner, introduced into Parliament a Bill "to amend the Education Act." This Bill bore the names of its backers, Mr. Will Crooks, of the Labour Party, and also Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, its secretary.

While Mr. Macdonald's party were "pledged"

While Mr. Macdonald's party were "pledged" to fight for the raising of the school age, he fought to lower it. Whilst twelve and thirteen were the earliest ages for partial exemption from day school, he tried to make them the statutory ages for total exemption!—conditional always, upon their being driven to night school to have their tired brains racked with education.

We opened with the blessings of childhood, but the blessings belong to those who do the children in—to the Penruddocks and the Wilesmiths; to the Abkar Reformatory rulers and the Tooting philanthropists, the thoughtful factory owners and the rural lordlings. The blessings will fall upon the children when, through the triumph of Socialism, the power of property over human existence has gone for ever.

A. Kohn.

CONSCRIPTION.

THE question as to whether or not conscription will, in the near future, become a necessity, appears to be once again very much "in the air." Lord Roberts, in the course of a recent speech during which he implied the failure, and foreshadowed the disintegration, of the Territorial force, advocated more strenuously than ever his pet notion of universal military service. In this advocacy he is, of course, acting quite logically -more logically, indeed, than those "lovers of peace" (chiefly to be found among the Liberals and Labourists) who, while upholding and using all their efforts to maintain the present capitalist social system, at the same time deprecate what is, in reality, quite in accordance, morally and politically, with the development of capitalism.

Professor Edward Jenks, in his "Short History of Politics," points out that the principle which binds together modern social groups is military allegiance. He continues:—

"In the States which practice conscription, or universal military service, this is very obvious. The most heinous political offence which a Frenchman or German can commit, is attempting to evade military service; or, possibly worse, taking part in military service against his own country. But even in Great Britain, where conscription is not practised, the tie is really the same. It is unquestionable that the Queen," (this was written in 1900) "through her Ministers, has the right, in case of necessity, to call upon every one of her male subjects to render personal military service; and any British subject captured fighting against his country, would be liable to suffer death as a traitor."

To put the matter clearly, the social group known as capitalist society is bound together by the tie of military allegiance. Capitalist society exists, and is allowed to exist, by the will of the majority of the units of which it is composed. Therefore such units should be prepared to do their share in the maintenance of the tie which binds the system together, seeing that they are in favour of the capitalist system of society.

But to those who happen to loathe capitalism, and all its insane and unhealthy institutions, and whose aim is to hasten its downfall in order to raise in its stead what they consider a rational, sane, and healthy system—to the Socialist, in fact—the whole question takes another aspect.

The Socialist will ask himself: "What is conscription to me and my class? Will it benefit me or the class to which I belong?"

To a man such as Lord Roberts, who has managed to make a fortune and win a title through professional soldiering, military service will, of course, seem all that is desirable. But what the devil is the poor drudge of capitalism. the wage slave, to get out of it? A fortune and a title? Hardly! At what should be the best portion of his life -his early manhood-he would be taken, numbered like a convict or a beast of burden at a cattle show, herded with his fellow beasts in compounds, trained and drilled and bullied and brow-beaten, taught to walk uprightland to handle a rifle, taught to shoot sufficiently straight to kill and maim certain of his fellows (whom he has never seen before and with whom he has no quarrel), coming out of the Army at the end of his term with all the virtues of an efficient, non-thinking, non-questioning wage slave, with all the initiative and all the self-confidence knocked out of him. Truly a

delightful prospect!

Lord Roberts and his co-agitators talk glibly of patriotism, of the duty of defending the Empire, of the glory to be obtained in resisting the encroachments of Germany. Let these people who talk so much about patriotism and duty and glory show, however, how the British working man would be any worse off under the rule of William of Germany than he is under George of England (even admitting the almost unthinkable possibility of a German occupation of Great Britain).

As the average member of the working class has no property to defend, no country to call his own, no prospect of ever being in a better position under capitalism than he is in now, why should he fight to maintain the rights of those who have property, who have a stake in the country, who are in a position of opulence?

It is significant to notice how, not only at the present day, but in all history and through all literature, it is always the man who has something to maintain, something to defend, who talks about duty and patriotism, about the honour of the country and the glories of the Empire. Having nothing, what necessity is there for us to fight in order to defend that nothing?

Still, as aforesaid, if the people of Great Britain are so much in love with capitalism, so desirous of upholding the institutions of modern society, it is their obvious duty to defend their little corner of capitalism with all their strength.

We, as Socialists, for our part, are not particularly concerned with conscription one way or the other, except in its aspect as being a phase of capitalist development. With the downfall of capitalism will fall all the institutions of capitalism - militarism included. Instead of wanting to be trained and drilled so that at the word of command we may slaughter and main certain of our fellows, against whom we have no cause for animosity and who are all in the same social condition of life as we are, we are training and drilling ourselves to be ready for the time when the workers of the world will unite in establishing a sane, healthy, and joyous system of society—the system we know as Social ism. Our object is not to destroy life, but to raise it to a plane where it shall have free play for all its activities. Which is the better ideal. ours or the militarists'?

When the question is considered, one feels almost sorry for such men as Lord Roberts, whose only aim in life seems to be the organisation of a universal army of professional murderers. What a glorious ideal of what noble human beings! And what a heaven sent system that breeds such men and such ideals!

F. J. WEBB.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).

 "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "The New World" (West Ham).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly." (Canada.)

A FRENCH EXPOSURE OF BRITISH SLAVERY.

We have previously referred to the slavery in the New Hebrides, that was engineered by the Liberal Party in 1906, while these hypocrites and their Labour hirelings were denouncing the horrors of Chinese slavery in South Africa.

The following brief outline of the facts will refresh the reader's memory.

Just off the coast of Queensland, in a group of islands known as the New Hebrides, men, women, and children were to be recruited under this Ordinance to work fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, for ten shillings a month, (Cd 3288, 1907.) The three years term of service could be lengthened at the sweet will of the employer on the ground of misbehaviour and malingering. Those who have read the horrors of the sandal wood oil trade in these islands, with the cruel treatment of the toilers, whose work only finished when the sandal-wood was exhausted, can imagine the conditions under the 1906 indentures. Working, as they were, under a tropical sun, in strange islands to which they had been taken with no prospect of escape excent the hospitality of the surrounding ocean, they were an easy prey to the concessionaires.

Our statements at the time, vigorously denied but not refuted, are now supported by first-hand evidence of the conditions there. The Aborigines Protection Society have republished the investigations of M. Pierre Bernus, which originally appeared in the French Press. He says:

"The great anxiety of the settlers is to re-cruit native labour. This becomes every day more difficult, for, from a variety of causes, the population is going down. . . It is very probable that if they offered the natives fair wages and assured them of humane treatment. the settlers would get the labour which they need, but the natives are treated like beasts of burden, and even this is an euphemism, for beasts of burden are taken care of. Their work is overwhelming and their wages ridiculously small, often paid in kind, contrary to the terms of the regulations. Alas! it has become nearly impossible to obtain voluntary labour, and so one of the most disgusting forms of slavery has been established in order to procure labourers. The settlers equip a boat and go from island to island; sometimes by craft and sometimes by violence they seize the native men and women whom they want. This is what the English call kidnapping, or as we call it in good French, 'la traite.' Women and young girls are forcibly taken away from their husbands or relatives, and often find themselves at the mercy of the savage crews of the ships before they are sent to the plantations. Cases of sheer violence are numerous and are established by irrefutable documents. . . In truth the slave trade is re-established under most abominable conditions, and it is tolerated by the authorities, who look upon kidnapping as an offence of no When taken to the plantations the natives are there treated like slaves during the years of their pretended contract of engagement. They are detained by force and are cruelly flogged if they try to escape. If a labourer succeeds in running away, his comrades are subjected to a long term of servitude. What difference is there between this and the slavery of old times?'

When we recall the outcry of the Liberals when in 1888 the Tories granted a like concession in the Fiji Islands, and more recently the "Chinese Slavery" campaign, it establishes for ever the cruel, callous, and contemptible hypocrisy of the Liberal Party.

It is worthy of note that the party who perpetrated this horror is supported with might and main by the Labour Party, who were busy at the time of the ordinance, booming Liberal swindles on Liberal platforms. No wonder they hang together – they have a joint responsibility in numerous scandals and a joint interest in hiding from the workers their many crimes.

The class ownership of the world's resources produce like effects in the New Hebrides and elsewhere, and these can only be removed by ending the profit-hunting system—that is capitalism.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.		8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Edmonton Green Finsbury Park Forest Gate. (Station) Hyde Park (Marble Arch) Illiord (station) Manor Park, Earl of Essex Paddington, Prince of Wales Peckham Triangle Make-horington, Rilley Rd., Balston. Tooting Broadway Tottenham, West Green Cnr. Walham Green Church Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 7.30 7.30 3.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 11.30 7.30 7.30	C. Elliott A. Hoskyns F. J. Rourke A. Anderson C. Ginger J. G. Stone A. Kohn F. Stearn A. Jac obs F. Leigh T. W. Allen R. J. Rourke E. Lake A. Tims A. W. Pearson J. Fitzgerald C. Buggett B Young C. Ginger	A. Barker A. Tims A. Hoskyns A. Kohn R. Fox H. Joy A. Jacobs F. J. Rourke A. Pearson T. W. Allen A. Kohn A. Tims C. Elliott B. Young R. Fox F. J. Rourke A. Barker W. Lewington T. W. Allen	J. Roe J. Fitzgerald A. W. Pearson A. Anderson C. Parker F. Vickers B. Young A. Jacobs T. W. Allen A. Kohn A. Hoskyns T. W. Lobb A. Barker C. Baggett F. J. Rourke A. Anderson E. Fairbrother A. Tims J. Wray	E. Fairbrother J. G. Stone A. Anderson R. Hughes A. Jacobs A. Kohn A. Hoskyns A. Kohn R. Hughes A. Anderson C. Baggett A. W. Pearson E. Lake H. Joy C. Ginger T: W. Allen F. Llake F. J. Rourke R. Fox

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS .- East Ham, The Cock, 8.30, Peckham Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.

PRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN-

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA .- F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufert Street, Chelsea. Branch meets
every Mondey at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam
House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman, 33 Britania-rd.

CENTRAL.-Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should

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EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd, Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornsett Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Wods. 8 p.m.

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GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

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Branch meets Thurs., atp.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

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Peckham. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30

at 21 Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

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Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

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TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Cottenham. Rooms open every evening WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 24, Pearl's road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8, at the

Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st. WATFORD.- G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM .- All communications to H. Tate, 76, First Avenue, Plaistow. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms Green St., Upton Park.

459, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.— C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Road, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook.rd., Wood Green.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslave ment of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and

their democratic control by the whole people. · That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of

he working-class itself. • That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the workingclass must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege. aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, pere fore, enters the field of political action deter mined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, wivelege to subsury, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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Printed by A. JACOMB, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road London, W.C.

London School of Economics & Political Science 2007 **Socialist Standard 1912**